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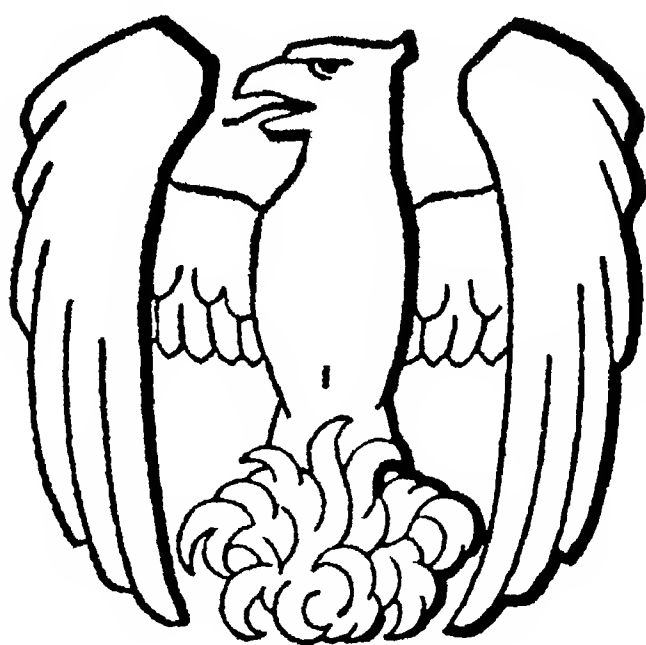
*Freedom  
Is More than a Word*





# *Freedom & More than a Word*

BY MARSHALL FIELD



CHICAGO  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
1945

University of Chicago Press • Chicago 37  
*Agent:* Cambridge University Press • London

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Published April 1945. Second Impression April 1945. Composed and  
printed by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

TO MY SON

*Marsh*

ONE OF THOSE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS  
WHO BY THEIR FORTITUDE HAVE KEPT ALIVE  
THE RIGHT TO DISCUSS WHAT FREEDOM IS—  
AND WHAT IT MAY BECOME





\*\*\* Foreword \*\*\*

**T**HE depression years of the 1930's forced most Americans to re-examine a good many of their assumptions. So much about which we had felt so sure fell about our ears and jolted us to the very core of our beliefs. Was this cataclysm caused by a failure of democracy? Or had democracy ever really been given a fighting chance? These were questions with which our experiences were assailing us.

Like everybody else, I was forced to reconsider everything that I had taken for granted. Ideas that had before been matters of superficial inquiry demanded tougher analysis. Fixed points in my intellectual world had to be subjected to searching criticism in order to determine how far they really had actual stability and how far I was merely using them as anchors to avoid setting forth on journeys that promised to be strange and that might therefore prove uncomfortable or even dangerous. The process was not easy, as most of my fellow-citizens, who were under the same compulsion, can bear witness.

A great part of the world became convinced that democracy had failed, and set up other forms of gov-

ernment. Other people, while paying lip service to the slogans of democracy, gave continual evidence that in their hearts they were either unwilling or unable to let democracy itself function and grow.

With all my heart I believe that the freedom we fought for in the last war was infinitely desirable, just as it is today; and I believe that democracy and human beings, given a real chance, can develop to heights as yet undreamed of. But in order to have this opportunity, and to realize its full possibilities, the most essential aspect of democracy—freedom of access to facts, to news—must be revitalized and extended. People must be fully informed. All shades of opinion, all significant versions of the facts, should have representation and be given free access to the channels of communication.

Holding this faith in democracy and seeing this need of adequate popular information, I was naturally impelled to investigate how I might contribute toward making democratic freedom more than just a word. The chance of inheritance has, fortunately, given me several such opportunities, such as that of supporting two daily newspapers: *PM* in New York and the *Sun* in Chicago. Since these were the first metropolitan dailies started for more than a decade, because *PM* is a fighting newspaper which has taken no advertising and has been completely free from interference by its owner, and because the *Sun* entered the Chicago field as a competitor to an entrenched monopoly, these papers have become matters of controversy. The *Sun* has also challenged what it considers the monopolistic news and picture privileges of members of the Associated Press.

Because of these beliefs, interests, and developments, I have written this book. It is the groping of one man's mind toward a solution of some of the problems presenting themselves to us all today. In it I have wanted to give to those who have supported *PM*, the *Sun*, and my position in the AP controversy—to all Americans who believe in the promise of democracy—an exposition of my underlying thinking and philosophy.

In making these efforts to promote freedom, it can be said here in a preliminary way that I have sought to function as a participating member of a democratic society, with unusual opportunities to serve because of my financial resources, and not as a man of large property interests actuated by attitudes of self-protection. It is my hope, naturally, that our present social system can be safeguarded and made to function effectively, but I am convinced that this can be done only if modifications are faced frankly and constructively. The principle of trial and error, of enlightened and carefully planned experiment, is as much applicable to social policy as it is to scientific inquiry in general.

There is, of course, no such thing as an inherent right in private property. Theories to such an effect, like theories concerning the divine right of nobility, were invented by propagandists to justify otherwise untenable positions. What private property any of us enjoys represents the acquiescence of society in our private control of it. It is a privilege Western society has traditionally granted to its stronger or more fortunate members, and, like every privilege, it carries with it certain obligations as a kind of payment for the privilege. Those who neglect the obligations, I am convinced, speed the



day when this privilege will be curtailed or perhaps denied.

In essence, my conception has been that my funds could best be utilized as germinal money. That does not imply either casual use of the funds or their squandering. If any given enterprise is to serve social ends, it must within a reasonable time have proved of sufficient utility to society so that society undertakes to support it. The long continuance of any enterprise must be based upon its ability to achieve economic independence and not upon any individual, group, or governmental bounty.

For the future of democracy to be secure, for freedom to be more than a word, those with financial and political power must regard the constant rejuvenation of freedom as their pressing duty. They must not hold their privileges lightly, and they must regard their obligations very seriously. One cannot help recalling a statement made in a different context by Abraham Lincoln when he told Congress in the dark days of the Civil War that "in giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve."

Democracy is the expression of an ideal. It is dynamic, never static. It is an ideal with tremendous vitality, but one has only to look about to realize that its full possibilities have not as yet been fulfilled. One sometimes wonders if the Founding Fathers comprehended just what opportunities they were giving their successors and also what a challenge they threw to us to make the most of those opportunities for ourselves and for future generations. Our federal Constitution adapts it-

self amazingly to the development of our social structure under changing conditions without in any way distorting the fundamental principles it sets forth.

Even accepting Charles Beard's cogent argument regarding the economic motivations of the framers of the federal Constitution, that document is still a marvelous instrument which both promotes democracy and has continually been reborn by democracy. When one reads *The Federalist* and some of the other papers and letters that have come down to us from the debates over its drafting and ratification, one is constantly struck by the living spirit and creative common sense of the democratic process. The Constitution, quite properly, is a product of the thinking and struggles of a great many men with divergent backgrounds and aspirations. In addition, as Supreme Court decisions abundantly demonstrate, it is not fixed. Other than by amendment, its legal formulas have been sufficiently flexible to meet the many changing conditions and needs of a vastly different civilization from that which existed when the instrument was adopted.

We have changed from an agrarian to an industrial community with every kind of new problem to face, and yet always, without abandoning our most cherished principles, we have managed to follow, under our organic law, a course which in the long run has given, or promises to give in the future, opportunities to everyone to make a maximum contribution.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt has told us that our generation has a rendezvous with destiny. One surveys the scene and sees not one rendezvous but a dozen. The great adventure that is the people in action moves on

and on—on the battlefield, in the factory, on the farm, and principally in the hearts of men. The enemy is always the same, and—for lack of a really inclusive word—we call him Fascist or authoritarian. Today he wears a German or a Japanese uniform; tomorrow he may be an industrialist or a labor leader or a newspaper publisher. In essence, he is a state of mind, an attitude which hates, scorns, and resists the efforts of the people to be masters in their own house.

I have tried and shall continue to try to oppose the Fascist attitude of mind, as that mental state was admirably pictured by Wendell L. Willkie when he discussed on a radio program the Detroit race riots of 1943. Willkie called this attitude the “desire to deprive some of our citizens of their rights—economic, civic, or political,” and he pointed out that it is “the same basic motivation that activates the Fascist mind when it seeks to dominate whole peoples and nations.” Positively stated, I have tried to promote what Judge Learned Hand had in mind when he said: “The spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias.”

Along the road toward the restriction of popular rights lies authoritarianism, darkness, chaos.

Along the road toward the expansion of popular rights lies a rejuvenation of what we have known in this country as democracy and the spreading of its opportunities and privileges to all of us. This expansion we must nurture and protect.

And how can we do this? First, perhaps, by being

alert and active in the main areas of democracy. Let us start by seeing ourselves as we are, by examining our society in some of its vital characteristics, its relation to the individual and to minorities, and by seeing how we can best educate our children for democracy. Freedom of expression happens to be the field in which my own greatest opportunities have arisen, and for that reason, as well as because it is one of our most fundamental and yet elusive privileges, I dwell on it at some length. The reader who follows this discussion will, I hope, agree with me on the sort of peace we must have after this war in order to work together for freedom in its widest and most fundamental sense.

With men and women of stout heart everywhere, I am “against people who push other people around,” and I want to do my part to help “assure freedom to the free.”

MARSHALL FIELD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
January 16, 1945



## \*\*\* Acknowledgments \*\*\*

I AM most grateful to many friends who have read this book in manuscript and have helped me with it, particularly to Alfred M. Lee, whose knowledge of the history of the newspaper business and whose research have been invaluable, and also to my friends of the editorial staff of the *Chicago Sun*, who have made suggestions; and to Max Lerner, Louis S. Weiss, and James Warburg.

M. F.



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I

*A Society of Free Men*



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## THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

SOME say that a man is free so long as he is convinced he is not being subjected to arbitrary and unnecessary regulations. But surely this is not enough. This formula might also apply to a reasonably enlightened autocracy, so long as it remained benevolent, which probably would not be for long. In a democracy, the only type of society yet essayed in which genuine freedom for all men seems possible, man should also feel that he participates in the processes through which public policy is set and through which the rules are made. As has been well said, "That man is free who is conscious of being the author of the law that he obeys."

But this merely suggests, and certainly does not probe deeply enough to define, a fundamental conception of freedom. How does a man become "conscious of being the author of the law that he obeys"? How can this consciousness, once achieved, be kept from disappearing? These questions take us at once into more practical and also into less easily defined aspects of the subject.

After all, freedom is not a thing in itself, a factor that can be isolated from other significant constituents of human life. It exists and is sought after for reasons that are fundamental to the human urge to create, and to develop, and it permeates the complex framework of all healthy modern institutions. To the extent, indeed, that it is operative in those institutions, it keeps them healthy.

The intimate character of freedom's ramifications is suggested by the derivation of the word "free." The Old Saxon term connoted membership in a family, in contrast with such a status as that of slave. It implied to be appreciated, valued, cherished—to have a role of importance in the community. And this is the kind of aura that people still give to freedom.

This implication of freedom is related to another, that of co-operative participation. Men have learned by bitter experience, over a long period of years, that they cannot obtain freedom from want or freedom from fear without co-operation with their fellow-men. The only way to maintain such freedom for themselves as individuals, or to function effectively in society, is by co-operating with others, not by dominating others or by submitting to their domination. Some have spoken of this principle as one of "antagonistic co-operation," in order to indicate how most co-operation grows out of pre-existing antagonisms.

But human beings are born with an unconscious drive toward aggression that makes them want to grab everything in sight for themselves. Therefore, it does not take a great deal of experience and reasoning to see that, when the strong start a drive for power, the rest of us

are confronted with the sheer necessity of forming a co-operative alliance to keep the strong from enslaving us. For the most plausible reasons of "efficiency," "economy," or other catchwords, we are constantly being enticed into surrendering power to the aggressive, who eventually—if we are not very alert—will dominate and degrade us. Historically, such threats to freedom have appeared constantly. Sometimes the threat takes the guise of an individualism that would save personal freedom from encroachments by church or state. At other times it appears in the guise of a statism that would protect personal freedom from encroachments by rampant individualists threatening to seize complete control of society.

I doubt, however, if man can be free either through unbridled individualism or when protected by an allegedly benevolent but all-powerful state. Unbridled individualism leads either to anarchy or to autocracy, the former a stalemate between rival individualists, and the latter a taking-over of the power of the state by the one or more most successful ones. Autocracy places power in the hands of one or of a few, and human beings never have been able to resist the corrupting influences of great power.

This, then, is the prime challenge to mankind of our transitional epoch and especially to us Americans; it can be worded more simply as this question: What is the proper relationship of the individual to the state and of the state to the individual? And the issue can be elaborated by adding these interrogations: How much personal freedom *can* we have? And, on the other hand, how far can we go in co-operating with our fellow-

beings before co-operation begins to lead us toward the snares of an over-all statism?

In recent times humanity has had before it case studies of the extremes of both individualism and statism. The case studies of individualism do not include one of anarchy on any scale. The Thoreaus are more apparently than actually free of societal co-operation as the background and support for their freedom, and they have thus never been able to carry their individualism sufficiently into practice to characterize a society.

In practical terms the so-called "McKinley era" in the United States offers a typical example of the dangers of individualism run rampant. In those days of the "trusts," industrial and financial barons carried on relentless campaigns for power that crushed the less strong, placed unfair burdens upon employees, their families, and the unemployed, and exhibited in general a tragic lack of social responsibility.

In the opposite direction, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia have carried over-all state control to new extremes, mitigated possibly in the case of the Soviet Union by a degree of democratic participation. The rigidity of the Nazi economy, its degradation of individuality, its curtailment of the expression of individual urges to create—all produced a situation that helped to push Germany on her course through war to defeat and probably to chaos. Whether or not Soviet socialism, even with its tremendous resources, will be able to serve its people's needs and meet changing world conditions over a long period of time remains to be seen.

But there is a third road: Men can *attain progress, not along the lines of any a priori pattern, but by means of an*

*endless series of group decisions*, as indicated by group needs and arising out of common agreement on certain general objectives. This choice is what I understand democracy to be. It is fortunately the one to which the United States is committed and to which we must needs work to keep it committed.

In following this third road, the United States has the tremendous historical role of achieving a workable and sane balance between natural human drives toward individualistic aims and co-operative goals. We Americans must have sufficient courage, energy, and foresight to demonstrate an industrial democracy that can miss the quagmires of the extremists and furnish an ideological light to the world.

The results we have achieved by adhering to democracy in this country over a period of years—imperfectly as it has functioned at times—would appear to contrast remarkably favorably with the results attained by any other method yet attempted. Especially has it demonstrated its efficacy in this war. It is no accident that at a time of world crisis the two greatest democracies have produced as their natural leaders men of the caliber of Roosevelt and Churchill. And even though Germany's militaristic state could put a vast army of lengthily trained and equipped soldiers into the field, the speedily trained free men of the American and British armies and their quickly converted factories have been more than a match for long-term militaristic efforts.

Let us examine the elements generally agreed to be essentials of that freedom-co-operation balance which we call "democracy." They are usually listed as (1) gro-



ceries, (2) peace, and (3) access to facts—but I would add another, something I would call (4) *toughness*, or a lack of gentlemanliness, in the sense of that word's common stereotype; what might be termed a healthy skepticism of traditional ways of doing things. Let us discuss these requisites briefly.

By "groceries," I naturally mean reasonable economic security, such as is made possible by an effectively functioning economy. It is, of course, absolutely necessary before people can work toward more democracy. "The freedom to starve" of Anatole France is not a desirable or Christian goal. In times of economic crisis, when hunger stalks mankind, bread itself seems so much more important than a society that will give us much more than bread alone. Then men and women are all too likely to find themselves forced to exchange their trade-union membership, their anti-authoritarian politics, or some other aspect of their self-respect for immediate economic relief. Consider the social losses and bitterness created by the attitude of those people who once thought the best "efficiency expert" to be a long line at an employment window—a line of people who underbid each other and those on the job. As the country sinks into a depression, unions are undermined and destroyed; it is only after the low point is passed and rays of economic hope begin to appear that unions again grow in strength and effectiveness and that the lessons of a depression can be put into operation.

The second and third requisites of our formula, "peace" and "access to facts," I shall return to in the later chapters of this book. Suffice it to say now that freedom and democracy have flourished only when the

threat of war has been diminished. They have risen and persisted, too, only to the extent that people have had access to political and economic facts.

“Toughness” or “a lack of gentlemanliness,” the fourth requisite mentioned in the formula, may strike many as strange, and it certainly requires explanation. In this expression, I have sought to suggest the need faced by democracy to keep from permitting itself to be controlled by outworn, traditional ways of doing things, regardless of how democratic and useful those ways may have seemed when they were first adopted. Times change many things. Conditions modify, and those modifications must sooner or later be met. The words “gentlemanly,” “nice,” “proper,” and the rest, have their utility as stabilizing ideas, but they are also the most useful propaganda terms that humanity has devised for maintaining unchanged a social structure and its vested privileges, until both structure and privileges become grievous maladjustments. A gentleman does not enter into controversial discussions. He does not question—at least until a crisis is actually at hand—the wisdom of those who drive the apple cart. He tries to preserve the *forms* of a society, perhaps even the forms of freedom and democracy, even when the actualities are changing. In an extreme form, he is a living antique, a fossil handed down from the *status quo ante*.

In a democracy we are confronted with a greater need than elsewhere of preserving whatever virtues gentlemanliness includes, such as consideration for others and a willingness to accommodate one's self to the tastes and interests of associates; but, above all, we are confronted with the need of not carrying such amenities

absurdly far. People who are only polite and accommodating contribute little but appeasement—locally, nationally, and internationally. Appeasement is a road toward the emasculation of democracy. We must be sufficiently tough to view all our traditional institutions, all proposals for public policy, and even our own mental attitudes as subject to modification and correction, as best checked against current realities at frequent intervals, and with nothing of importance held merely because it is old, traditional, or “respectable.”

As we all work to carry out the terms of this four-point formula to strengthen freedom, and to keep a balance between self-seeking and pro-statist drives, there is a key to the situation that we should bear in mind. This key is found in the character of the subdivision of political and economic power. We must continue to find ways of keeping social power sufficiently divided, so that no individual or group can come near to usurping over-all control and at the same time not so atomized that effective planning and action become impractical. Or, to state the matter more positively in words recalling some used at the outset, the power of society must be sufficiently subdivided so that we are conscious of being the authors of the law we obey.

Particularly helpful as means for checking the power of great plutocrats and appealing demagogues are certain tendencies in corporation law, in general social intelligence, in the growth of small businesses, and in the development of pressure groups, trade-unions, and consumer co-operatives.

Ambitious new enterprisers must either win their way in a world dominated by vast business organiza-

tions or struggle toward positions of power, Horatio Alger fashion, from within such an organization, presumably by hard work and pluck; and this latter course was vastly easier for Alger's characters than for their flesh-and-blood counterparts of today. To provide creative outlets for the abilities of as many of such persons as possible, there is inestimable value to the future progress of the nation in having a great many industries and businesses start and flourish in the hands of as many enterprisers as possible. They act to spur large corporations to adjust their practices as conditions change. They furnish checks on their prices and quality in the interests of the consumer, and here and there some will always be found who will make great contributions to the general economy in the form of new methods or other innovations.

The difficulties facing the growth of enough "small businesses"—officially described as those "employing less than a hundred persons" but which might be thought of as including some even larger—to absorb the enterprising spirits developed in the United States have become more formidable as business has achieved larger entities, with larger and larger surpluses, vast reservoirs of social power, technical skill, and facilities for research. Among other stultifying influences, taxes on corporate profits have acted to prevent small businesses from accumulating capital to finance the expansion of which they might be capable, even though the same taxes have not been effective in trimming the power of the great intrenched organizations. How to provide a system of taxation that will allow the healthy growth of relatively small enterprises and at the same time prevent

the accumulation of unhealthy and bloated corporate surpluses is one of the chief problems to be faced by economists and all proponents of a healthy society.

In spite of such difficulties, during a period when most newspapers and captains of industry were pontificating about government interference with private enterprise—between 1929 and 1939—the number of businesses in this country actually increased from 2,922,000 to 3,179,000, a rise of 8.8 per cent, as against a population rise of only 7.3 per cent. Even though these figures should be qualified by pointing out that many of these small businesses were not really independent, the figures still help to demonstrate the extreme hold that private enterprise has upon the imaginations of Americans.

This phase of our economy requires very careful nursing, and it may well be worth while to sacrifice something in tax returns, and also in efficiency, to help keep this channel open to aggressive spirits. In return for any such encouragements, new enterprisers must guard against temptations to permit bad working conditions for their employees. In the sense of freedom of enterprise for the masses of the people and not just for the great plutocrats, freedom of enterprise within a freely co-operative society will repay any possible inconveniences many times over, provided only that adequate safeguards are erected to prevent the abuse of such encouragement. Through the recreation and maintenance of a substantial basis for private enterprise in the economic realm, we may provide the means through which vital contributions by millions of ambitious young men and women will be made to the economic life of the nation.

Shortsighted men rebel against such suggestions. When in competition with a rival, they see the immediate advantages of erecting a monopoly or of entering into monopolistic arrangements with others, in governing prices, the use of patents and inventions, and in killing off potential or actual rivals. I am confident that monopolies contain within themselves the seeds of their own destruction, that they will always tend to become restrictive of individual initiative and invention. They stifle the maximum possibilities of human development. Monopolies are so contrary to the general interest that we must not only help to prevent their formation and growth but must aid in bringing about the dissolution of those already in existence. The thought that monopolies contain the seeds of their own destruction does not preclude the probability that each may cause great suffering and waste before it is terminated.

It has been traditional American practice, when a phase of the economy becomes too big or too monopolistic, to appoint a regulatory commission to oversee its activities. This would appear to be a much sounder method of handling the situation than resort to government ownership, and it is much more likely to utilize individual initiative constructively. It is to be hoped that this method will be continued in general, even though at times new projects may be too vast to attract private capital, and government may have to act in such rare cases.

Probably the most insidious form of organization indulged in by businessmen is the international cartel. These arrangements represent monopolies on a gigantic scale, overlapping international boundaries and avoiding

national obligations. The arguments in their justification are that they create more stable employment in the countries involved, more ordered exploitation of natural resources, and thus more efficient service to society as a whole; but this version of the "authoritarian efficiency fallacy" will hold no more water than the others. Cartels, like domestic monopolies, in the long run actually stifle employment, the best utilization of natural resources, and the full development of the diverse creative talents of mankind.

Businessmen who talk fondly in terms of what they call "free enterprise" are sometimes attracted, possibly unconsciously, to the ideas of monopoly. I have heard them utter disquisitions on the subject of free enterprise and then, in the next sentence, ask the question, "And what if England and other European countries continue after the war to operate a strong system of cartels?" Of course, if their faith—and the American faith—in competitive enterprise is justified and adequate, it would be very much to the disadvantage of any nation to permit a system of cartels. We believe that truly competitive enterprise, despite its apparent inefficiency in the short run, is always more effective in the long run, and we should therefore view with equanimity the cartelization of industry and resources in other parts of the world. Our own freely competitive enterprise—to the extent that it is freely competitive—should always have an advantage over cartels in world trade. Eventually society will have the added advantage that will come when popular leaders in cartelized countries see the wisdom of our course and stimulate their own countries to follow it.



Because of its monopolistic tendencies in particular, it is fashionable in some quarters to inveigh against big business as such. But provided adequate policing in the public interest by government, provided the leadership of open-minded men of foresight, and provided fidelity to the principle of large volume and low unit cost (and sales price) with the avoidance of the pitfalls of monopoly—provided all these things, the methods of American big business are the hope of the world so far as material well-being is concerned. Without such provisos, the evidence is incontrovertible that the methods of big business might become the means to power of a new and overwhelming tyranny.

During the second World War, America has shown what can be done with the expert techniques developed in this country which, for want of a better term, are called “know-how.” If this “know-how” can be applied to raising the standards of living in the enormous areas and populations that have had a low standard, the possibilities are infinite. The possibilities of textile industries in the Far East, of American turbines in a TVA on the Yangtze River or the Danube, and a host of others fire the imagination. However, what is done in this direction must be carried out through the medium of loans or through a type of participation that does not take the form of permanent ownership or permanent vested interests in the natural resources of those countries. Any permanent intrenchment is likely to lead eventually to resentment at foreign exploitation.

For American “know-how” to achieve the tremendous goals in store for it, it must be realized what a significant role co-operative planning must play in our



thinking and acting. Freely competitive enterprise does not mean an absence of planning by co-operating groups or by popularly controlled governmental units. As David E. Lilienthal has put it: "A great Plan, a moral and indeed a religious purpose, deep and fundamental, is democracy's answer both to our own home-grown would-be dictators and foreign anti-democracy alike. . . . Not one goal, but a direction. Not one plan, once and for all, but *the conscious selection by the people of successive plans.*"

The benefits to business and to the country from overall planning and from aid in self-help by government have been well demonstrated by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Lilienthal, as chairman of TVA, has told this story in his *TVA—Democracy on the March*, and he has commented on it as follows:

"A world of science and great machines is still a world of men; our modern task is more difficult, but the opportunity for democratic methods is greater even than in the days of the ax and the hand loom. A method of organizing the modern task of resource development that not only will be based upon the principle of unity but can draw in the average man and make him a part of the great job of our time, in the day-to-day work in the fields and factories and the offices of business, will tap riches of human talent that are beyond the reach of any highly centralized, dictatorial, and impersonal system of development based upon remote control in the hands of a business, a technical, or a political elite."

To avoid such "remote control" and at the same time to "tap riches of human talent," constructive co-operation among the masses of men takes the form of pressure

groups, labor unions, and consumer co-operatives. One of the great modern problems is, of course, that so many of us live in large cities in which the life of the individual becomes continually more atomistic, more isolated from a satisfying range of human relationships. In other words, it becomes increasingly difficult to find relationships beyond our immediate family, ones that can give us a community sense. Our co-operative relationships, then, to the extent that we still consciously have them, tend to find expression in organizations that serve some immediate need, usually of an economic or political nature.

One of our most significant types of co-operative participation is usually labeled "the pressure group." One hears a great deal of inveighing against pressure groups, but it takes only a little thought to realize that one way to deny a man his freedom is to isolate him, to prevent him from organizing with other men for his own welfare and protection. The authors of our Constitution themselves became a pressure group to insure its adoption.

The impression is given that pressure groups are inherently evil, that they pervert and even crush out democratic processes. But a further analysis of our means of expressing minority, and even majority, interests and needs readily reveals that pressure groups are inevitable instruments of democracy. Whatever evils the pressure-group system may contain can be mitigated only by organizing more pressure groups, ones that will represent the elements of the population theretofore unrepresented.

Historically, pressure groups have always been, and,

for that matter, they probably always will be, rooted in the very nature of democracy. Some have a more general and a less selfish motive than others, but any one of them causes alarm only when it upsets the balance of pressures—the balance between the expressed interests of dominant and intrenched groups. When there are enough pressure groups, they represent also a valuable means of keeping the power of the state adequately divided, to prevent the rise of a dictatorship or an all-powerful oligarchy.

One pressure group cannot, in the long run, gain its ends exclusively at the expense of the rest without itself suffering. Only systems of government that permit conflicting interests to find representation in groups can so adapt themselves to changed life-conditions as to persist over any great period.

For an illustration of what might become a disproportionately powerful group in this country, let us take the so-called “farm bloc”—a group of prosperous farmers spearheaded by the American Farm Bureau—which is continually pressing for higher farm prices and lower returns to labor. Surely, intelligent farmers and eventually the farm bloc itself—to the extent that it represents farmers at all—will come to realize that it is quite impossible for the farmer to sell the maximum amount of his produce unless labor is prosperous and in receipt of high wages. The Farmers’ Union—a union, and more representative of small farm interests—having seen this situation clearly, has been co-operating with labor groups. The most intelligent leadership of labor already realizes that, unless the farmer is in receipt of adequate prices, he will not be in a position to buy the products

of factories, on the sale of which labor's wages depend.

In spite of his inadequate representation in the present farm-bloc pressure group, the farmer cannot be denied his right to join with other farmers for the common marketing of his produce, the common use of expensive machinery, the common purchase of necessities for his farm, and the common presentation of his hopes and grievances to governmental representatives—in short, the protection of his best interests.

So must the workman in the factory retain the right to band together with his fellow-workers to obtain what he feels to be his fair share of the proceeds from industry. If his union is shortsighted enough to demand more than its fair share, it will, of course, endanger the industry on which his employment depends. But to seek to abolish unions on this account is manifestly absurd.

Groups of owners or managers of industry and business have, through shortsightedness or actual greed, prevented their employees from sharing the prosperity of business, forgetting that these very employees, in the aggregate, are their best prospective customers. The National Association of Manufacturers, with its various affiliated and co-operating organizations, including the farm bloc, some Democratic politicians of the South, and many Republicans, is perhaps the most powerful pressure group in the country—and one of the shortsighted ones. Its opposition to measures making for human welfare, its determined antagonism to organized labor, can best be understood when one considers how contributor-conscious the staffs of such organizations must be. Their decisions reflect member prejudice to a

far greater extent than social wisdom; yet they are not to be denied the right to organize.

To correct the bad effects of pressure groups, we need more and ever better facts. We need to know how lobbying and propaganda are carried on, and we need to know the names of the responsible persons and organizations. And equally important to people getting such facts is that they should get them before it is too late. Often the bad effects of group pressures can be overcome if the facts become public before they are "cold."

Labor unions, however, like other organizations based upon participating co-operation, are fundamentally desirable in a democracy; they are a necessary concomitant of the greatest good of the greatest number. They must exist to protect their members against exploitation and advance their best interests. Of course, they, too, may become predatory or act against the best interests of the community. If they become exclusive, they invite the formation of other competing unions or of a group which will insist on their "right to work," and either alternative is likely to hamstring the union and eventually bring about its disintegration. Such developments lead to what is sometimes known as a "free labor market," which really means a long line at the employment office from which the employer may select the ones who will work at the lowest price to which fear of want will ultimately drive them, thereby taking away their freedom. If public opinion, inflamed by anti-union employers with access to propaganda media, becomes too antagonized, the same undesirable result may be arrived at.

When a union uses its organization to resist the progress of technology, as some have, it is obviously acting against the best interests of the community—of the community of which its members are a part—and thus their own best interests in the long run. It was only human that anybody having to do with horses should have been concerned at, and should have resisted, the development of the automobile. And yet the manufacture of the automobile provided employment and prosperity for far more people than were thrown out of work by the change. When such a temporary sacrifice of employment and of technical skills is necessary, surely the individuals making the sacrifice have every right to demand from the balance of the community assurance of the wherewithal to secure them from want during the transition, and also, when this is possible because of age and ability, the necessary training in some other form of work to make the person again self-sustaining. If he is not provided with this form of insurance, the cost to society of his deterioration, of the loss of his creative ability, will be infinitely greater than the cost of any such insurance could possibly be.

The so-called “make-work policy” pursued by some unions is one of the adjustments they make to technological changes, and it is surely unjustifiable in any healthy community. It raises the cost to the public of the commodity or service in question, so that the enterprise itself suffers, and eventually the reaction sets in against the economic welfare of the members of the unions themselves. It has been a very natural and human development, caused by the fear of unemployment in critical business depressions, but it is a defeatist attitude and

cannot be the best answer in the long run to individual or social security.

Whenever a man joins with others for collective purposes, he will, of course, in all groups, have to limit his freedom to conform in some degree to the best interests of his group. This will be taken advantage of by many leaders, who will inevitably become tyrannical and use the group for their own advantage or so press group interest as to come into conflict with other groups unnecessarily and to the detriment of society as a whole.

One type of organization which seems to me very promising is the consumer co-operative. This is a type of small-scale, but sometimes large-scale, enterprise which provides unusual opportunities for co-operation in planning as well as for the greatest possible expansion of the number participating in the economic life of the country—the greatest workable subdivision of economic power. This sort of organization is just getting well under way in the United States, and it is a valuable means of taking new millions into the ownership *and participating control* of a wide range of business enterprises. This claim was once made for joint-stock companies, but these only made possible nominal ownership and—for the vast majority of “owners”—not even a semblance of owner-expression or control. Consumer co-operatives also furnish a valuable medium through which to achieve new competition—the proper needling—for large and established corporations of the traditional sort.

The idea of consumer co-operatives dates in a modern sense from the Rochdale experiment of 1844 in England.



It differs from the joint-stock company by giving each consumer-owner of an enterprise no more than one vote, regardless of his investment beyond the minimum requirement, and returns earnings in proportion to purchases as a purchase refund. It is a form of private enterprise that has had a much greater growth heretofore in the Scandinavian countries, in England, and in certain other pre-war European nations than it has as yet in the United States. But with the aid of the late Edward A. Filene, and of farm, labor, and an occasional professional organization, the movement has grown rapidly since the late 1930's.

Farmers in the Middle West have established a consumer co-operative which is the leading distributor of gas and oil in its county. With an initial capital of \$12,500 in 1925, it has done \$4,000,000 of business and paid back to its consumer-owners \$375,000 in patronage refunds. Consumers have been amazed at how rapidly co-operatively owned facilities pay for themselves. They have learned that "factories are free," if consumers will pool their buying power. Gas and oil is but one of many fields in which these enterprises now operate. Groceries, with the two green pines of the consumer co-operatives as their symbol, are springing up in more and more neighborhoods, served by their own wholesale grocery firms which are similarly controlled.

Two and one-half million Americans are members of consumer co-operatives, and their businesses are handling more than three-quarters of a billion dollars' worth of materials annually. And on all this business the only return to capital invested is a modest fixed rate of interest or, in some co-operatives, nothing. In addition to



saving money by elimination of much sales-promotion effort, co-operatives further benefit the consumer by providing known and dependable quality, assured by specific information on labels and by consumer-conscious purchasing agents. They can become, more and more, a real yardstick for the holding-down of prices for goods which might be subject to manipulation by monopolistic price practices.

This movement is no panacea for the ills of Western civilization, but it can help by serving as one additional way of democratizing our social structure. It depends, naturally, upon good management which remains representative of consumer-owners. It requires consumer-owners to retain sufficient interest and participation in their enterprises to prevent their enterprises from becoming *de facto* the creatures of their operating staffs. That co-operatives compete with individual private enterprisers has created some prejudice against them and has led thoughtless or misinformed politicians to enact legislation placing special handicaps upon them. But the attitudes of both businessmen and consumers are changing. Businessmen are realizing that co-operatives offer the means for giving vast new millions a participating role in our economy, an essential to its preservation. And the consumers themselves are convinced of the value of the innovation by the direct advantages they receive. In insurance, in small loans, in the distribution of foods, gas and oil, fertilizers, stock feed, and seeds, co-operatives have proved their worth time after time.

In addition to their economic aspects, others might be stressed, such as those arising out of the fact that no one is barred from purchasing from a co-operative, or from

becoming a consumer-owner, for any reason of race, creed, or economic or political distinction. Meetings, work on committees, and social functions thus become useful experiences in working and playing with people of many other racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. They promote human understanding and combat intolerance in a very practical way.

The only kind of co-operative organization which cannot be justified is one which bands people together with vicious intent to destroy or weaken other groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion. Right of assembly is guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, and it must always be protected. The right of free men to band together for any purpose other than forceful aggression must be forever guarded most vigilantly. It is a cornerstone of democracy.

Society as a whole, in this country, is represented by government. When people refer to our government as "they," one gathers that such persons somehow fail to understand the nature of democracy, that they are making themselves exterior to the government rather than participant in it. Government, in this country, is, of course, "*we*." For it to continue to be "we," it must be so regarded and, above all, so treated.

When government ceases to be "we," then it is not representative, and we must change the personnel of it, which we have the power to do. It is obviously our duty, through government, to exercise our powers in opposition to any group which becomes predatory and detracts from the general good of the community. When government, local or national, becomes too closely identified

with any one group, the other groups in the community must exercise their power to overturn it at the polls.

In this respect newspapers and magazines have the obvious responsibility of informing and arousing the public so that its wishes may be made known to government. To the extent to which newspapers are, as they claim, trustees of a free press in a free land, they demonstrate their trusteeship by observing their responsibility. But when they ally themselves with a group in the community for their own profit or otherwise, to the detriment of the community as a whole, their value to the public is vitiated. Such manipulation of news even bolsters the power of the predatory group to an extent that might place it in a position of dominance destructive to democracy.

## THE DISINHERITED

**F**ORGETFUL of the advantages of co-operative participation in the life of a democracy, we have permitted a strange misconception to grow until it is now firmly intrenched in our minds, obstructing the economic and political progress of the human race. I refer to the idea that an increase in the prosperity of any group must necessarily detract from the prosperity of other groups which have already achieved some degree of economic security or affluence.

This idea runs through much of the thinking of the so-called Manchester School of economic thought, and it has in some way become ingrained in the economic ponderings of our own industrialists and bankers. Of course, precisely the opposite is true. The prosperity of any accessible group of people reacts directly or indirectly upon every other group. For a short time newcomers, or the newly successful, may loom as competitors, more accurately as apparent competitors. But it is inevitable that, over a period, their increased prosperity will permit them to become good customers and then

better customers. Furthermore, the contribution they are able to make to the sum of the world's goods must inevitably provide more goods to divide. Modern thinking must be in terms of an expanding universe rather than a restricted universe.

Knowing this, free men who would remain free, and men who would become free, are concerned not only with their own freedom but also with the freedom of all men to develop their full capabilities and potentialities. They must concern themselves with the disadvantaged groups, those we ordinarily speak of as the minorities, and those who are ill fed, badly clothed, poorly housed, and sick in mind or body. Toward all these groups the Manchester rationalization has been applied in one form or another and always with the result of confusing the real issues involved.

What do we really mean when we talk about minorities? After all, minorities are not merely mathematical portions of the population that set themselves apart through dissent from the tenets of the majority. It is an essential principle of democracy that political and economic dissenters perform highly useful roles in society. We ordinarily designate as minorities those segments of the population whose physical aspects, or whose social, intellectual, or cultural characteristics, are sufficiently different from those vaguely identified with the "majority" to make the fact of difference perceptible. Or, more artificially still, we designate as minorities groups upon whom some label has been affixed, and whose members retain it even after their apparent assimilation into the majority in every discernible manner. And these minorities, by reason of their differences or alleged dif-

ferences, arouse in many of the majority either fear or hostility or some lesser negative attitude.

Over and above the Manchesterian fallacy, what is usually called the "minority problem" is thus seen as a problem of malformed human relationships, and it lies, not in the realm of thought and reason, but in that of feeling and emotion. I believe recognition that we are dealing so largely with emotional factors is central to any consideration of what efforts can be made to solve or mitigate the questions presented.

Viewed in objective perspective, we are all members of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities in this country and certainly in the world. In addition, in the biological and cultural heritages of all of us there is something of all the major variations of the human race and of all the major cultures. But the minority problem involves a weird mixture of objective and emotional matters, such as differences in standards of living, in the things for which money is allotted in the family budget, in the color of skin, in language or dialect, in dress, in tradition and social ideology.

The relatively objective factors, to the extent that they are real and objective and not traditional or imaginary, are of secondary importance to the emotional factors, especially to the dread of competition, the preening of one's self as being better than others, and the emotional ramifications of these reactions that social psychologists label "ethnocentrism." This is a term meaning for groups about the same thing as egocentrism in individuals—in other words, group-centeredness. This factor of ethnocentrism is something which anthropologists have found throughout the world exemplified in the

epithets with which all groups have traditionally branded outsiders. It is one of the many ways in which human beings gain a feeling of security through what Veblen has called "invidious distinction."

In the last analysis the minority situation as described means that we are still living out, in our attitude toward minorities, the Greek concept of *hoi barbaroi*, the people from elsewhere, the strangers within our gates. Distrust of the stranger and overevaluation of the familiar—the two aspects of ethnocentrism—are age-old, deep-seated, and everywhere an evidence of the gratuitous manner in which man is so often cruel to his fellow-man.

Who are the *hoi barbaroi* in our society? They include, of course, most strikingly in the minds of many, the Jews and the Negroes, as well as many recent and as yet unassimilated immigrant groups. But the Jews have lived among us for generations; some of them played prominent parts in the American Revolution. And the Negroes have been in this country longer, on the average, than their white neighbors; they first came to this country on a ship called the "Jesus" one year before the "Mayflower" brought the Pilgrims. Foreign ethnic and religious groups also came here to find asylum from religious, political, and economic persecution or exploitation, and we welcomed them as they came. Are these groups really strangers in the sense that the Greeks used the epithet *hoi barbaroi*? Obviously not, and yet, out of the deep-seated atavism that pervades man and that we have labeled "ethnocentrism," that kind of "No" becomes "No, but . . . , " and it often threatens to become "Yes." Thus, with tragic frequency, these neighbors of ours still remain, to the majority of us, *hoi*

*barbaroi* for all their patriotism and their desire to demonstrate their staunch ambitions to be as other American citizens.

The most obvious outbreaks of ethnocentric emotions are such events as the frightful anti-Mexican riots of Los Angeles, the white-Negro race riots in Paradise Valley, Detroit, and the Negro uprising in Manhattan's Harlem during the summer of 1943. The majority of us take a kind of false satisfaction out of the fact that we would not take part in such riots or in the perennial beatings and lynchings of the South. But we overlook the manner in which, with our warped ideas of our own superiority and of the alleged inferiority of others because they are somehow different, we help to create and maintain an atmosphere of intolerance.

The nice, polite majority does this in a thousand ways. We rationalize our violation of Christian principle in making it difficult or impossible for Negroes, Orientals, or non-English-speaking Europeans to attend our churches. We treat the jim-crowing of our armed forces and public school systems, in violation of democratic principle and of federal constitutional guaranties, as an unfortunate but "necessary" adjustment to the "facts of life." We find all-too-easy excuses for quotas and even bans in our professional schools, in jobs, in some unions, and in professional bodies, not to mention civic and social organizations. We permit and even demand that our federal government erect barriers against refugees from war-torn countries—the very sort of people for whom America was established as a refuge and from among whom our ancestors were drawn. We forget that refugees have always brought more in wealth



than they required and that they have immeasurably enriched our national heritage and our economic life.

Segregation, another name for ghettos and the jim-crowding of public facilities, is taken up in an unthinking manner by multitudes of Americans whose own ancestors came to this country but a short time ago to avoid just such treatment. The apologists for segregation, as a policy for "handling" the Negro problem, speak blandly of "equal but separate facilities" and declaim about how that "is just what the colored people also want." They forget that segregation has never worked in this country or elsewhere, as our millions of mulattoes demonstrate, and as the mixed blood of *all* Europeans and of other peoples throughout the world helps to show. When segregationists are able to show that segregation has resulted in anything but hundreds of examples of petty and major exploitations as a result of "second-class citizenship," it will then be time to regard their pleas seriously.

But what can we do in the presence of this widespread unreason? If we persist in it and struggle to maintain it, what will be left of our American spirit of fair play? To what extremes of barbarism will we take *ourselves* in order to maintain our alleged superiority over minorities?

Too often in the schools, the press, and the pulpits there is a kind of dogmatic insistence on tolerance, and it is upon tolerance rather than upon something far more useful, namely, understanding. Tolerance, as a superficial attitude, is thought by many to be the essence of the American spirit; but this whole problem lies in the area of feelings and emotions, and upon such feel-

ings and emotions superficial attitudes have little influence. Tolerance is not enough. Just an insistence on somehow being tolerant, on not doing Hitler's divisive work of spreading innuendoes, derogatory stories, and plain lies, is not enough to make any dent in the problem.

These peoples, the so-called "minorities," represent an immense asset to communities where they live, and, given maximum opportunities for co-operation, maximum freedom, and aid for their development, they could make infinitely greater contributions than they have made of new points of view, of new approaches to industrial and social problems, and of new artistries and tastes.

The Bill of Rights consists, in its language, of prohibitions. But its spirit is affirmative, and its affirmation is that all men, protected in their freedom, shall work and live and breathe without unnecessary restraints, to the end that majority and minority may find in unity the fullest expression of a common purpose. In that noble frame of reference, minorities are regarded as an integral part of our evolving commonwealth. Our forefathers saw that minorities must be free to express their points of view, to be able to bring their maximum contribution to our society. The minorities must be made to feel that again today, and the majorities must somehow come to recognize the wisdom of that course.

In addition to the principle of justice involved, it is necessary to remember that the whole of Western civilization owes a tremendous debt to the folklore and teachings of the Jewish people, and other deep debts to the Arabs, Moors, Egyptians, and Negroes of northern

Africa. Christ himself was a Jew throughout his life on this earth and carefully observed the tenets of that ancient faith. The learning of Greece was preserved and developed by the Arabs when the races of Europe were unconcerned with their heritage, and a Jew—Maimonides—learned from the Arabic scholars to combine Greek learning with Jewish law, indirectly making one of the greatest contributions to the Renaissance. Think of the ways in which Jews have added to our knowledge of medicine in the midst of our persecutions of them; of the philosophical writings of Spinoza, who was abandoned even by his own people; of the great art and philosophy of the peace-loving Chinese and of their indomitable bravery in rising to new heights of self-sacrifice to preserve that freedom without which we know that the human spirit withers and dies. And yet we do not tell our children often enough of the gains to American life from the accomplishments of Crispus Attucks, the Negro who was the first martyr of the American Revolution, George Washington Carver, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, Marian Anderson, and Paul Robeson, in the fields of chemistry, economics, literature, music, and drama. We need also to ponder what might have been the benefits to America from a host of others had they not been held down by prejudiced emotions and the consequent lack of educational, economic, and political rights.

Repressive forces are, of course, vigilant to prevent the coming of true democracy. Fascists exist in America as well as in Europe. Viewing the gains of the common man, they are furious and from time to time become

violent in their efforts to protect greed and power. But, along with the renewed fury of pro-Fascist forces, there is a determination on the part of the American people to see to it that the promise of America shall be fulfilled. While the war has increased tensions by the new conditions in employment and in the armed forces, and by overcrowding in housing and transportation, it has also brought into sharp focus the need to give practical meaning to our professions of democracy. Enlightened groups throughout the country, unable to reconcile the slogans of freedom and equality for the world with continued prejudice and discrimination at home, are working to change American practices. This fresh interest and effort will, I hope, give some encouragement to all of those who have labored so long, and against so many obstacles, in this particular vineyard.

The movement in aid of interracial and intercultural understanding that represents the widest numbers and possibly the greatest potential power has been, up to this point, organized labor. In the early years organized labor was slow to see the need for a united front on this subject. Many of the craft unions discriminated against Negroes and against certain other minorities. But slowly labor has seen that it can succeed only if it includes all the workers, that any schisms of race or religion are a threat to labor organization itself as well as to the great goals toward which labor is striving. This new regard for democracy marks many labor organizations. It is especially conspicuous in the CIO. This organization—some six million strong, militant, and aggressive for the rights of all men—is perhaps the most powerful factor that has come in modern times into the improvement

of race relations and the whole fight for modern, industrial democracy.

A second great influence is the awakened interest of government. The federal Fair Employment Practices Committee and the many other activities of federal authority are well known. In addition, there is another type of governmental activity, proceeding from the grass roots of scores of states and counties and cities. It is signalized by the appointment by mayors and governors of special committees devoted to protecting the rights of minorities and encouraging the harmonious and effective living-together of all groups in the population. While some forty-one of these committees were formed after the Detroit riots, they are not intended simply to forestall similar trouble in the future but also to attempt to correct the evils out of which riots come. The programs and powers of these committees vary widely, and most of them have no authority except to advise and persuade, but they represent a growing recognition of the problem and are carrying on invaluable educational work.

If too many of us persist in ideas of majority superiority, if the theory of the master-race should prevail, what might it mean to our grandchildren to have to defend that theory against an unfriendly and hostile and colored Asia—an Asia that will inevitably become industrialized, an Asia that exceeds by millions all the whites in the world put together? What in armaments, in treasure, and in human lives may thus be lost? As Lillian E. Smith has summed it up: "The world situation, the pressures of war needs, the global hunger for human freedom, the changing economic patterns, have

pushed the South into a new situation which cannot be dealt with in old traditional ways. Freedom is ringing its bell—in Harlem, in India, in Detroit, in Burma, in Java, in Atlanta, in Jackson, Mississippi, . . . . and it is making a music the whole world likes and is moving close up to.” Even in the South, she says, to talk about “*unwillingness* to ‘give up’ segregation has a touch of irrelevance about it. It is *already* giving it up. Only the ignorant or the very old, or the very frightened among us can think otherwise today—if they think at all. . . . . *How to bring nonsegregation quickly and harmoniously*, how to avoid violence during the *change*, how to prepare the . . . . public for the change that is already taking place, is now the job we must work on.” Quite sensibly, Miss Smith believes that we should provide isolated quarters for “the few psychotic whites who get excited when they look at folks of another color” and permit and encourage the saner people of society to mingle on terms of equality.

It would be very good for us all to take some such pledge as the following and then do all in our power to live up to it:

*I will respect the rights of all men equally, without regard to their race or creed.*

*I will win the war at home by combating racial discrimination wherever I meet it.*

*I will not spread rumors that aid the racial war of the enemy against democracy.*

The applications of Manchesterian thinking to problems associated with racial and cultural minorities are of concern enough to us all, but such applications do not

stop here. Similar applications also account for much of our resistance to coping realistically with economic and public health problems. That principle is so much a part of our culture that any gain for another group is taken to be at the expense of our own group, the popular fallacy that there is just "so much" in the "pot" to be divided!

For instance, if private capital is unable to furnish housing for the low-income groups, it will certainly prove an excellent investment for the community to do so through its governmental structure. This will not interfere with legitimate private enterprise in housing, which can count only on groups with at least moderate income for the necessary return on capital invested.

To say that public housing is incompatible with free enterprise, or that freedom is in any way surrendered thereby, is just another form of propaganda to protect a misguided special interest. The same argument is also advanced against such public improvements as super-highways, airports, recreational facilities, and other community responsibilities. These improvements actually *aid* enterprise and help to make possible economic freedom.

In combating minority discrimination, in making attacks upon housing, public health, and other problems of the disinherited or underprivileged in the American community, the question constantly arises as to what role private philanthropy should have in meeting these problems. I believe we are in a period of transition from private philanthropy toward a general social approach to the problems with which it has heretofore attempted



to deal. In the past much of private philanthropy has been directed to palliatives and the treatment of symptoms rather than to cures through attacks upon causes. Private philanthropy should never again be called upon for relief of unemployment or old age. If the economy of the democracy we are envisaging for America is unable to provide for this social responsibility from public funds, then we shall be compelled to try other forms of political and economic organization, which might lead to the abandonment of personal freedom.

Philanthropy may still do a worthy job today in aiding experimental projects and in research. If the experimental projects cannot in the long run justify themselves as something for which the public wishes to assume the responsibility, the effort will have been largely wasted.

Incontrovertible, unfortunately, is the inference that the power to distribute philanthropy is likely to give the one who dispenses it a feeling of superiority over the person or group who may be the recipient. It puts the giver in the position of being an arbiter of the destiny of others and gives him a power of direction of their energy which might, if given freedom, be put to far better purpose. While privately subsidized or endowed institutions have at times done excellent pioneering work in social science, one can only look forward with hope to the time when all necessary social services will become the responsibility of society as a whole. When such a time comes, it is also to be hoped that society will exercise its functions through experts chosen for the purpose rather than through individuals unsuited for such responsibilities, whose arbitrary whims reflect their



lack of opportunity to acquire the training and judgment to act wisely. In the meantime, trustees and managers of philanthropic institutions should be led to co-operate to the fullest extent with public bodies, so that the performance of their function will be assured and assumed when such time arrives that the sources of private philanthropy may dry up.

Perhaps my point deserves an illustration. Everybody knows that there are many organizations supported by private philanthropy which take care of neglected, abandoned, or orphaned children. The major part of the support for these comes from the taxpayers, generally in terms of so much per child per week. But there are extra costs of clothing, adequate medical care, administration, and buildings which are provided from endowment funds or private contributions. These latter funds are becoming more and more difficult to get. Yet the trustees and managers, from some vague fear of bureaucracy or political interference, frequently show the greatest reluctance to co-operate with government bodies. Obviously, if interference is based upon political motives, there is reason for real concern; but it would seem much better to face the fact that public representation in management is bound to ensue from public support and take the necessary steps to educate public officials and co-operate with them rather than to resent them and combat them on grounds of so-called "private enterprise." Scandals have developed in privately managed institutions, such as the Manhattan Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and hospitals and asylums, just as they have in politically run institutions in times of public apathy. As a matter of fact, because of recurring

public scrutiny, scandalous situations in public institutions are much more likely to be detected and corrected than those in the privately controlled ones. Furthermore, I personally know of institutions partially empty, because of inexcusable selectivity on the part of the directors or trustees, at a time when public facilities were overcrowded and inadequate.

While private funds are still available in some quantity, by all means let them be used for charitable purposes. But let them be used so to improve personnel, psychiatric care, or physical facilities, in the case of such institutions as those for “disinherited” children, that the way will be pointed for future public servants and for future public responsibilities.

Even in the field of research, Paul de Kruif, in his *Microbe Hunters*, criticizes the modern “foundation” or philanthropic organization for its regimentation and frustration of brilliant young medical scientists. Sinclair Lewis, in his *Arrowsmith*, shows how a medical investigator has to fight continually against the machinery of institutionalized research, against the “men of measured merriment” who seek to exploit his talents, dig into his private affairs, and distort his products. And in his *Gideon Planish*, Lewis gives a similar picture of the use of civic ventures and social agencies for the whims of those who have money and a need for tampering with the lives of others.

Many exceptions might be advanced to offset these criticisms, especially criticism of well-planned and impersonal foundations such as the Rockefeller and Rosenwald. But it may be remarked that, in spite of valuable opportunities offered by institutionalized support, the

great discoveries have largely been made by individuals working along their own lines, sometimes by chance, and sometimes when engaged in other research, and most frequently without interference or outside direction. Often their findings have been scoffed at and disbelieved by the hierarchy of their own profession. You have only to remember Darwin, Koch, Metchnikoff, Pasteur, Curie, Macleod, Banting, and Freud to understand how much we owe to such individual and self-sacrificing investigators and innovators.

Perhaps the real benefactors of mankind are the innovators in social practices or in technology. An innovator—by very definition—calls for a reform of at least a part of some social institution, and this naturally arouses the antipathy of such institutional functionaries as wealthy men, academic and foundation executives, and civic and social leaders. The histories of social thinking and of science are therefore studded with the names of brilliant individuals who made their contributions either without aid from, or with the active opposition of, vested authorities.

The subsidization of scientific research, which is, after all, one of the most valuable investments for philanthropists, is apparently best handled through having funds made available to individual workers of proven competence—without strings attached and outside of any fixed institutional framework. This naturally raises many problems. The criteria of accomplishment in the various physical and social sciences, as well as in civic and social work, differ widely. Competent experts, called upon to decide the relative merits of individuals whose work might be subsidized, have a disturbing tendency to base their judgments upon personal and

political criteria. In addition, such experts are not always of sufficient stature to regard with cordiality the innovator who might disrupt a large segment of the "arrived" expert's knowledge.

Certainly, at any rate, the future health of the community is of far too great moment to the American people to be left in the hands of sporadic and spotty private donations to hospitals and medical services. This situation and the persistence of physicians in their "crisis" type of medical practice permit huge gaps to continue in our public and private health structure. "Crisis" practice—the calling of a physician after one is sick and then paying him what he thinks the traffic will bear to return the patient to health—obviously does not make the positive and substantial contribution to our individual and national health that would come from an adequate system of preventive practice. Preventive practice, it is recognized, would involve one or more sorts of "socialized" medicine, under consumer-co-operative control, under a governmental arrangement, or under an insurance plan controlled by the medical profession. The health and productive capacities of many thousands are so jeopardized by the weaknesses in the present structure that an investment in forms of subsidy by the whole community in the broadening of such services should be amply returned in a comparatively short time. Certainly the experiences of Selective Service with draft rejections, conservatively estimated at one-third of our young manhood for medical and psychiatric reasons, more than bear out such a contention. Medical leaders should be gravely concerned at the poor average health of America's male population.

Another aspect of this whole problem comes into focus when one realizes that it is hardly possible for a young physician to make a living in many areas as conditions exist today. Yet to deny such areas the knowledge and possibilities that exist in medical science seems nothing short of criminal folly. A guaranty of a minimum livelihood could, at so little comparative expense, be made to physicians by our government. Surely it would be better if, instead of resisting this great public demand, the hierarchy of the medical profession could take direction of it and see to it that the machinery were set up in such a way that the control and selection of personnel remained in the hands of the profession rather than drifted into the hands of politicians.

Time was when innovators in the physical sciences were subject to pressure and even tormented and punished for trying to help mankind. The various furors raised over Darwin's theories, as late as the Tennessee "monkey trial" of 1925, are recent reflections of this situation, but the social scientists are the modern inheritors of such persecution, social criticism, and personal attack. The experiences of Veblen, W. G. Sumner, and Freud come to mind, and especially the attacks made upon their theories.

Statistics indicate relatively little willingness upon the part of foundations or even individual donors to aid investigators of particularly significant social problems, even though here is an area in which society is sadly in need of better guidance. Even the National Resources Planning Board, engaged in a type of survey work rather than fundamental theoretical research, aroused the forces of toryism in Congress and brought about the end of its appropriation through merely attempting to sub-

stitute facts for prejudiced thinking in certain areas of national planning!

Many of the discouragements of social science research are of a negative rather than a positive nature. Promising young researchers divert their attention to other fields because of the lack of opportunity for fundamental and really useful investigations into social problems. Some are so frustrated by demands for conformity to a pattern in the training of social scientists that they become radical agitators rather than bother with the pretenses of "respectable" investigations.

Possibly one of the greatest problems facing the social scientist in his search for acceptance and support by society is that his conclusions do not stop with a plea for more enlightened leadership as a means of solving social problems. The social scientist knows that that is not enough. He knows that hell is paved with good intentions, that social structures powerfully coerce leaders to conform to the pattern most of them follow, and that human progress has taken place chiefly through modifications in social institutions.

Let us hope that society will become reasonably understanding of *live* radical thinkers as well as worshipful of those who are dead. Let us hope that funds will always be available somehow, administered by people of breadth and imagination, which can be used to encourage and aid the innovators in the more controversial fields, especially those involving problems of the human relationships and characteristics of America and the world community. We know so little about man, man's inhumanity to man, and man's potentialities for creative thoughts and actions.

## AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREEDOM

**I**F A blending of individualism and co-operative participation is a prerequisite to a democratic solution of the problems of a society of free men, it must also be noted that an atmosphere of freedom is required if these problems are to be met constructively and as they arise. And such an atmosphere, although created originally by the sound common sense of the millions who migrated to this country from all the world, must be constantly nurtured by a thoroughly democratic educational program.

Thomas Jefferson saw this clearly when he said: "What, but education, has advanced us beyond the condition of our indigenous neighbors? And what chains them to their present state of barbarism and wretchedness, but a bigoted veneration for the supposed superlative wisdom of their fathers, and the preposterous idea that they are to look backward for better things, and not forward, longing, as it should seem, to return to the day of eating acorns and roots, rather than indulge in the degeneracies of civilization." This position naturally grew

out of Jefferson's conviction that "we should be far . . . . from the discouraging persuasion that man is fixed, by the law of his nature, at a given point; that his improvement is a chimera, and the hope delusive of rendering ourselves wiser, happier, or better than our forefathers were."

Family circumstances so arranged my own education that I went to school in England, first to Eton and then to Trinity College, Cambridge. This may strike some as an inappropriate background for one who would comment on American education, but its remoteness may possibly give me some objectivity, and certainly it has made me quite curious concerning educational procedures in this country.

At Eton the only sop thrown to the modern world of technology was about an hour a week, officially called "Science." The situs was a rather ill-equipped laboratory, and the subject had acquired the label of "Stinks." Any pupil who evidenced undue interest in the subject was a "Stinker," of course, and the whole matter was scarcely tolerated and rarely referred to by either masters or boys. I got a vague idea at different times that water was represented by  $H_2O$ , that snakes shed their skins but were fun to fool with, and that caterpillars eventually become butterflies. But our chief occupation in "Stinks" was mixing liquids, without any apparent idea or purpose except a general hope that a loathsome smell, or possibly even an explosion, might occur. History was taught with much understanding and imagination, as was the laborious translation of sundry "classics" from the Greek and Latin. Mathematics was tolerated, but the teachers in that field had very little stand-



ing among their fellows. French was ludicrously mispronounced by English teachers and appeared to consist almost entirely of irregular verbs. The one Frenchman who attempted to convey his knowledge of the language was the butt of every insular little boy in the school, who knew that he had the connivance of all the other masters.

Eton, however, had a certain healthy contempt for plutocracy which I found extremely salutary. The reason for the top hat and tail coat, which is held up to ridicule by those who do not understand it, is actually well founded. It is a uniform which obviates the invidious distinction of expensive clothes, without creating a feeling of militarism as so many uniforms are inclined to do. The main standard of achievement was, as in most schools, athletics. Proficiency at football, cricket, or rowing was the criterion of approbation. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is an Aristotelian precept which was followed more strictly as to its second rather than its first implication. Having been left temporarily with a weak heart owing to rheumatic fever, I did not, it may readily be conceived, find any great approbation.

Requirement for entrance into Cambridge seemed to consist of a fairly detailed knowledge of Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* and of what I have always considered a rather pompous tome, Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*. I suppose there were other requirements, but I have forgotten them.

I found Cambridge utterly delightful, with every possibility of accumulating knowledge if one were so disposed; but, as might be imagined, my previous experience had not been conducive to enthusiasm about scien-

tific subjects. I have since found it quite impossible to understand or manipulate anything like a radio, an electric device of any sort, or even an automobile or airplane. Perhaps this is just inherent dumbness, but I like to blame my education.

This kind of educational background, as I say, may render me singularly ill prepared to comment on education in this country. But, after all, the question of education is not only universal but, it seems to me, as Jefferson so well indicated, entirely essential to the future of freedom; and the object we all want to achieve through education is the kind of freedom that will provide the maximum possibilities for the development of the individual. We all want each person to be equipped to make his greatest contribution to the growth and betterment of himself and mankind.

Furthermore, as a trustee of the University of Chicago and like anyone else to whom innumerable ideas and requests for donations are presented, I have had to attempt some formulations of opinion on training and education which I do not believe can be omitted from this discussion of freedom.

In education, as elsewhere, we are threatened today by plausible doctrines of despair and futility, subtle and insidious. In addition, the development of democratic leadership faces the tremendous premiums placed upon subservience and the concomitant penalties visited upon those who oppose vested authorities. As John Stuart Mill observed: "A State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands, even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished."

The tendency for education to be used to produce "docile instruments" is perhaps one of the most fundamental challenges to democracy. A healthy democracy contains many leaders, each representing a minority interest, some of whom compromise minority interests into aggregates that become majority interests. Forces that work to restrict the number and effectiveness of democracy's competing leaders squeeze the vitality out of democracy and leave behind a polite but ineffectual shadow of popular expression and control.

A great restlessness grips us all these days, and I am not referring here to a restlessness due entirely to the war. We have a deep-set feeling that we are on the verge of a period which will present opportunities for the attainment of a better life for more people than history has ever known. This is a feeling that I think the facts justify, but it is accompanied by another feeling—one of frustration, one that recognizes how inadequate is our present intellectual equipment and how limited are our present sources of knowledge for the tasks ahead.

Human beings that we are, we naturally feel we have to place the blame for our frustration somewhere, and the institution on which many of us place that blame is our education. We are unhappy about education, whether or not we have been diligent in making use of the opportunities already available to us. And as is usual when individuals and pressure groups focus their attention upon a function of society, each has his own picture of what that function is, and what it ought to be—in each case a picture that fits his own idealizations or, more likely, his own special economic and social interests.

What are the chief pictures in our society today of

what education ought to be like? Let us try to characterize three of the outstanding ones: (1) *ritualistic*, or the accumulation of graces and graceful knowledge to meet the requirements of an aristocracy; (2) *mechanistic*, or the production of robots who will work willingly for an authoritarian organization; and (3) *developmental*, or the nurturing of healthy individuals for democracy.

Thorstein Veblen, in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, had a great deal to say about ritualistic education. It is the type of education that dominated our academic institutions until the rise of a need for carefully formed technicians for modern business civilization and also until the rise of another more pressing need for leaders with faith in modern industrial democracy.

Ritualistic education is the element in training and in educational circles that glorifies the traditional, the old, the proper, to a large extent the theories and techniques that are not too readily given practical application. It might be labeled the "D.A.R. element in education." Once our schools—beyond reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic—were dedicated to the production of tribal medicine men for our society, men of mysterious authority and veneration: ministers, lawyers, physicians, schoolteachers, and gentlemen or persons who could afford to spend time memorizing oddments merely to establish their social status. Such schools produced young men and some young women who could deal in biblical and classical allusions, who had absorbed an assortment of dates running back to that for the creation of the world in 4004 B.C., and who could mumble phrases in one or more ancient and modern tongues. In a world less complicated and with a different ritual than our own, these

men and women commanded respect and enjoyed playing with any of their erudition they could remember.

That knowledge might well be useful as well as ornamental was a conception to which some ritualists gave lip service, but usefulness was not, in their conception, a worthy justification for learning. More often they justified ritualistic education with a quotation from one of those who provided the ritual, as, for example, this passage from Aristotle's *Politics*: "To be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted souls."

To the ritualists, whatever usefulness learning might have was merely a happy or unhappy by-product of the educational process. Mental accumulations were to make lives and society somehow more beautiful, and no doubt did, to the limited few who had the leisure and the opportunity to indulge in them. But they were used only too often merely to confer invidious distinction.

This tradition could not continue unchallenged by the industrial revolution. Militarists had always sponsored a much more "practical" type of training, and now plant managers were faced with similar needs. They needed robots, and a robot, as Karel Capek indicated in his "fantastic melodrama" *R.U.R.*, is a worker "with the minimum amount of requirements," with "an enormously developed intelligence, but . . . no soul." The rising factories could absorb thousands of skilled technicians—machinists, engineers, accountants, efficiency experts, chemists, physicists, advertising specialists, sales engineers, and many others—and capitalists also faced the problem of disturbing dissatisfactions concerning the status quo in the minds of products of liberal-arts high

schools and colleges. These Elders of our society were therefore led to give new applications to the old militaristic tradition and to sponsor “no nonsense” trade schools and engineering and business colleges with which to manufacture the essential human instruments for their offices and shops.

These two types of education—ritualistic and mechanistic—came, then, to dominate teaching, and the chasm between them widened. The musty pedagogues of the ritualistic tradition and the experts in the production of technicians could see but little value in the work the other did. The mechanists came to regard the ritualists as ivory-tower pedants; the ritualists came to think of the mechanists as shortsighted enemies of the great and wise and beautiful, of Aristotle’s otherworldly “free and exalted souls.” Both of these kinds of education had for their purpose the product of social types patterned upon the preconceptions of the Elders. Neither sought the development of the individual so much as it sought the creation of a “round peg for a round hole.” Ritualism and mechanism in education are sorts of social control, ways of assuring social domination in the interests of an established social order.

Fortunately, still another type of education has its vogue, and I hope that the vogue increases and continues. The third type of educational ideal mentioned above—the developmental—is *student-centered*. It is the one that places its emphasis upon the nurturing of socially useful human beings without reference to a preconceived pattern into which to force them. As a matter of fact, it is strange and sad that it took so many years for some educators to come to this simple thought: that

possibly the highest goal of the school should be a student-centered goal, should be to serve the needs and to unfold the potentialities of the pupil rather than to create the kinds of esoterics and robots the old men of the tribe think that they enjoy or require.

This is obviously an approach to the educational problem at some odds with both the ritualistic and the mechanistic types, but it is the one kind that places its faith squarely upon the worth of the human spirit and gives it a chance to grow. It has also been advocated by leading modern philosophers, psychologists, and educators, even though tremendous forces of tradition and domination oppose it.

In spite of the huge vested interests in ritualistic and mechanistic education, forces are at work that make one optimistic concerning the future of developmental education. For example, the rising tide of interest in better reading and listening materials can be demonstrated by any book publisher merely by pointing to the quantity as well as the quality of his recent sales. The success of popular books and the continually growing collegiate and adult educational facilities bring nearer what was envisioned four centuries ago by the authoritarians who foresaw the dangers to themselves inherent in unlicensed printing and in other unrestricted methods of popular education. The pro-authoritarian students of history warned at the birth of typesetting in the fifteenth century that popular freedom of the press, and hence of discussion and education on a broad scale, would mean more and more dependence by those in authority upon their constituents for their power; that "divine right"



and other such figments would be assailed with increasing effectiveness.

If such enlightenment, based upon competitive ideas, persists, authoritarianism will always be opposed by unconquerable forces. As Milton put it, books "contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them."

Fortunately the censorship of books in this country has been fought with considerable enthusiasm and success by liberal forces, so that it can be said that the book press is probably our most untrammelled expression of freedom of the press. The chief problems in this area are book-bannings in certain communities (which sometimes help to give the banned books a vogue elsewhere) and the operations of pressure groups which seek to define the contents of school texts. When it is likely that there will be even a modest audience for a book—1,000 to 2,500 copies, in some instances even fewer, depending upon the price and the character of a work—a publisher can usually be found who will risk an investment in it.

Another force that makes for the developmental type of education in America today is the tendency of more parents to see the wisdom of permitting their children to follow new educational paths. Unfortunately, however, many parents still permit themselves to be actuated by the distressing desire to mold their progeny to their own image, regardless of changed conditions and differences in personal aptitudes.

A parent naturally answers as best he can the ques-



tionings and gropings of a child's mind and attempts to convey to him experiences and knowledge of human affairs. But it might be better if he avoided the temptation to erect unnecessary taboos and to direct his progeny into an occupation to which his talents and desires are unsuited. It would obviate the frustration of many a life. Parents have to face the fact that a child's talents might be used to much better purpose in some walk of life of his own choice, and they must therefore resist a desire to gratify their own wish for immortality in the perpetuation of some business or occupation they have themselves founded or perpetuated.

We might be wise, considering this, to keep from tampering with children's educational arrangements, except to assure ourselves of the *general qualifications* of the personnel in the schools upon whom will rest the responsibility for our children's education. I say "general qualifications," because it is always dangerous to go into too great minutiae, to verge upon the dictation of ideas and views. Concern should end with the provision of the services of competent teachers. Teachers should be of such importance and ability that they will be given the maximum possible economic security and will win and be given honor in the community. They need freedom of research and speculation, freedom of expression, and the best possible equipment with which to do their work.

So much of the faith and the hope for the future of the human race depends upon our teachers, upon the results of their inquiry and research, and upon their ability to transmit—not only their own knowledge but also something of their ability and inspiration for further inquiry

and research. Learning has to be looked upon as an introduction of the pupil to a role in an unfolding process—a process of exploration, appreciation, and creation that must never end.

Day by day the social scene becomes more complex. It constantly changes. Texts of a dozen years ago deal with problems, and are even in an idiom, that reflect the continual adaptive changes of man and his society. The great books of science, art, and literature must be seen in such an evolutionary perspective and appreciated as examples of the workings of great minds and as sources of inspiration. If the books of our civilization and of others, desirable as it is that they should be known and understood, are treated as more than steps in such an unfolding process, now dated and surpassed, they come perilously close to furnishing a basis for new schemes of orthodoxy through which to venerate great authorities rather than to search out and examine the living and vital truth.

Modern transportation, communication, and invention create new difficulties and problems at the same time as they bring forth new satisfactions and possibilities. New difficulties and complexities cannot be solved by old methods, and a continuously open and probing mind, a sincere spirit of inquiry, and an adaptability to change must be kept ceaselessly before us if human possibilities are to be realized and freedom retained.

We now come to the final tendency making for the more firm establishment of developmental education, and it is probably the most important one. I refer to the increasing enthusiasm with which American young

people take up educational advantages that have for their purpose the unfolding of pupil potentialities rather than the curbing of pupil interests and drives. We are scarcely past the time when it was assumed that all healthy boys, at least, and possibly also girls, should regard teachers and education as unfortunate concomitants of childhood and youth, factors to be endured, sabotaged, or ignored in certain traditional fashions. But many educators have refused to accept the idea that teachers and pupils are natural enemies. They have explored ways of searching out common interests among their pupils and of giving them projects, problems, and games with which the pupils may express themselves and incidentally get an education—a much better education than could have been drilled into them by old semi-militaristic methods.

Unfortunately the best of so-called “progressive” education has been used successfully only in nursery schools, kindergartens, the lower grades, and the professional and graduate schools—the two ends of the formal educational system. During the long stretch between the lower grades and the professional or graduate schools, we so often permit pupils to sink into a morass of routinized education that deadens the creative abilities and aspirations. We only permit students to find themselves again when they come to take courses with an obvious relationship to their intended future vocation.

This situation has led educators to say that it is too bad we do not do as good a job of educating in the intermediate years as we do in the early grades and in the graduate and professional schools. President Hutchins of the University of Chicago observed this fact in his

own experience and recalls it in his "Autobiography of an Uneducated Man," when he says: "I see now that my formal education began in the Law School. My formal education began, that is, at the age of twenty-one. I do not mean to say that I knew then that I was getting an education. I am sure the professors did not know they were giving me one. They would have been shocked at such an insinuation. They thought they were teaching me law. They did not teach me any law. But they did something far more important: they introduced me to the liberal arts."

Hutchins, in this quotation, points indirectly to the chief factor that has made him and many other educators show a deep concern for the future of liberal arts and sciences—in other words, for the future of education for living as compared with the mere acquisition of techniques with which to gain a living.

At one time the liberal-arts and sciences curriculums, with their emphases upon the wisdom and artistic creations of the ages, were as much the curriculums of trade and professional schools as is that of the law school to which Hutchins went at Yale University. The students, in those days, were motivated to take seriously Greek, Latin, history, and natural philosophy because they saw how such subjects gave prestige and status and therewith a fair income to the teachers, clergymen, lawyers, physicians, and political leaders of their home communities and of the country. Now times have changed, and, because of what I have called the D.A.R. element in education, the teachers in liberal-arts high schools and colleges fail to see that they have to adjust their offerings to a changed world.

Philosophy, history, languages, and literatures were once taught as a part of the "trade-school" courses for clergymen and lawyers, but now, to save their traditional attitudes and practices, the teachers of these subjects feel impelled to separate "education for living" from "education for earning." What they chiefly succeed in doing, in most cases, is to take the drive and compulsion out of education for living to make it look a good deal like education for invidious distinction and to permit those engaged in educating for earning to strip their curriculums down to stark trade-school proportions. The gulf to which I referred between the ritualistic and the mechanistic types of training has thus yawned wider and wider.

The obvious alternative, seen fortunately by many educators, is to call a halt to this dangerous cleavage between "education for living" and "education for earning." As Hutchins points out: "The principal, if not the sole, merit of the case method of instruction [in law schools] is that the student is compelled to read accurately and carefully, to state accurately and carefully the meaning of what he has read, to criticize the reasoning of opposing cases, and to write very extended examinations in which the same standards of accuracy, care, and criticism are imposed. . . . It is unfortunate that the teachers have no training in the liberal arts as such." The same or similar things might be said of professional training for journalism, in which the core of the curriculum is built around the reporting of actual events and the production of a newspaper rather than the analysis of legal cases, but in which many students are given real compulsion to relate the truths of the past

to the actualities of their contemporary world. And this might also be said concerning other professional work when carried on with sufficient breadth of vision and with teachers who can see the relationship of their narrow field to the world and who want to stimulate the unfolding of the individual rather than the molding of him into a preconceived pattern.

A young man who would like to become a physicist or a social worker, a physician or an engineer, a teacher or a psychologist, might, as a part of his search for professional competence in his specialty, be impelled by his curiosity and his honest desire to get ahead to grasp far more of the humanities, the sciences, the arts of living than he does now in some narrow curriculum that succeeds his ritualistic period of "education for living."

In considering all this, which is of such obvious value to society and its members, and yet which seems so far beyond the grasp of so many, we cannot claim that equality of opportunity has even approached realization. Vast inequalities persist in educational opportunity. This applies not only to the inequalities which exist in different sections of the country, and in the world, but also to the fact that the primary qualification for education beyond the high-school level has, for most young people, been their father's checkbook. If all young people are to be given an opportunity to develop their maximum potentialities, college education must be made available to all who can take reasonable advantage of it.

The old National Youth Administration program of aiding college students through providing them with useful and instructive work was a step in the right direc-

tion. As a matter of fact, I would like to see that system restored and made universal, regardless of the financial need of the student, because it provided a sensible basis for combining education with practical experience. But now that that program is a thing of the past, the "G.I. Bill of Rights" forms a basis for broadening academic opportunities through giving veterans an opportunity to become educated at no expense to themselves; and it is to be hoped that it will eventually lead to the restoration of an NYA program on a basis sufficiently broad to give reasonable educational opportunities to all Americans.

Financial obstacles at times seem great, but it should be remembered that the spiritual and intellectual obstacles are even greater. Many selfish and insecure men, men in powerful positions, seek to suppress the dissemination of ideas. They do not realize that ideas which may seem disruptive at the time to their own life and interests might prove beneficial to them in the long run, as have so many ideas in the past. They will only need to remember the persecutions of Galileo, of Spinoza, of Paracelsus, of the Founder of the Christian faith, to realize how dangerous suppression is and how much would be lost to the human race if such suppression had always been successful.

Teachers are expected to use their knowledge of the past and their understanding of the arts and sciences to set out on voyages of discovery and to impel their students by such example to do likewise. Whatever they discover will have to be proved to a world containing many disbelievers, many vested interests who do frightful things because of their insecurity. Every jeopardy of every vested interest creates new centers of opposition

to the detached seeker after truth and justice. Those who are looked upon as the educational leaders of the world to come bear the brunt of this conflict. But the stakes of all this are nothing less than the future health of our civilization. It is a glorious struggle in which all men of good will and imagination will want to have at least a modest part—at least the part of upholding the arms of those researchers and teachers who must bear the shock of battle.

To such innovators, then, is the responsibility, and theirs is the privilege to lead us on. Their paths seem now to be set toward something I have called here “developmental education”—education for democratic responsibilities and leadership—and I devoutly hope that they have the power, and support, to give it greater and greater actuality in our school systems of tomorrow. On such an educational framework and the citizens it will produce depends the atmosphere of freedom that this country needs for its democratic processes.





## II

# *Freedom of Expression*



## WHAT IS IT?

**A**N ABSOLUTE prerequisite to the development of democracy and freedom is, of course, “access to facts,” and it is the one with which I have been chiefly concerned. It opens up the whole matter of freedom of expression and discussion, freedom of access to the channels of communication, and freedom to receive an unbiased education.

The highest functions of human beings rest in the uses of the intellect—the uses of our powers of observation, of reason, and of invention. And freedom for human beings means opportunities to develop our intellects and our dexterities so that we can see, understand, embellish, and control our existences in ways making ultimately for better patterns of human life. In developing such functions, freedom of access to facts, of expression, and of discussion is a prerequisite for growth and at the same time a fragile human privilege. Even though freedom of any kind has been born only through the self-sacrifice of millions, in revolutions and wars and other struggles, and is reborn only at the cost of great

human suffering, it is as fragile as it is serviceable to the highest aspirations of mankind. Like all things that live on earth—men, flowers, a landscape, art, science—it constantly dies, and, if it is to survive, it must be constantly reborn.

Freedom of expression is, of course, guaranteed to us Americans in our federal Bill of Rights. In the Constitution we are assured freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of conscience, to name only those most directly related to our current problem. And, in addition to these constitutional guaranties, I believe the desire for freedom of expression has become, as the result of our history and tradition, so deeply rooted in our minds that we would not knowingly permit it to be taken from us.

I said that freedom of expression is a fragile thing and then that it is deeply rooted in the organic law of the United States and in the sentiments of American citizens. This may look like a flat contradiction, but I believe that it is not. This is a country in which we deeply love and cherish freedom of expression, all that it has given us, and the great deal more that it still offers us; but this is also a country in which we permit the *actuality* of free discussion to slip away while we venerate the social and legal structures with which we presumably guarantee ourselves such freedom. We permit “freedom of the press,” for example, to become a glittering generality, operative chiefly to protect the vested privileges of a special class, while actual press freedom—in the functional sense of access to facts and access to media of expression—dwindles to a thinner and thinner substance.

In other words, in analyzing the status of freedom of discussion, careful distinction must be made between form or structure, on the one hand, and function or operation, on the other. Only an analysis of this kind can lead to a realistic conception of some of the basic threats to democracy and of ways to ward off those threats.

On the structural side one gets the impression that freedom of expression remains intact. This is a country in which John Adams defended the British soldiers who took part in the Boston Massacre, in which Alexander Hamilton served as legal counsel for British Loyalists, and in which Ulysses S. Grant demanded amnesty for Robert E. Lee. Even though between 1917 and 1920 it became practically impossible for decent spokesmen to uphold the rights of a minority without finding themselves attacked for sharing the minority's opinions, spokesmen did appear, among them Charles Evans Hughes, who defended disqualified Socialist assemblymen of New York State. In World War II we have seen similar incidents. The trial of German saboteurs, who were landed illegally from a submarine on the shore of Long Island, was surrounded with every guaranty of fair treatment and free discussion; it even went to the Supreme Court for an opinion—something unthinkable almost anywhere else in the world. Wendell Willkie, too, in the same fine tradition, defended the civil liberties of a Communist.

But, on the functional side, freedom of expression has suffered, for all the lip tribute we pay to our democratic heritage and for all the copybook maxims about the value of freedom, free enterprise, and democracy that we reiterate. Our infernal gentlemanliness is a part of the

trouble. Once many Americans felt vehemently that controversial discussions had merit. Today we have more and more precise notions about the “proper limits” to “constructive discussion,” and we face a constant diminution of competition—a constant rise in local monopolies and in monopolistic national and international agreements—in all the major media of discussion. We are in grave danger of forgetting the great truth uttered by Edward Beecher concerning the mob-killing of the abolitionist, Elijah P. Lovejoy, in Alton, Illinois. “We are more especially called upon,” Beecher said, “to maintain the principles of free discussion in case of unpopular sentiments or persons, as in no other case will any effort to maintain them be needed.”

We are all likely to think that freedom of discussion for “forward-looking men and women” or for “nice people” is secure, when actually freedom for dissenters is gradually fading away. Professor Chafee elaborated this position in his *Freedom of Speech*: “Too often we assume that . . . persistent trouble-makers are the only persons injured by a censorship or a sedition law, and conclude from the indiscreet and unreasonable qualities of their speech and writing that the loss to the world has been very slight. Too often we forget the multitude of cautious and sensitive men, men with wives and children dependent upon them, men who abhor publicity, who prefer to keep silent in the hope of better days. We cannot know what is lost through the effect upon them of repression, for it is simply left unsaid.” For goodness’ sake, let us have more and better “crackpots.”

President Hutchins of the University of Chicago has given us a new beatitude: “Blessed are the irritating, for

they bedevil us out of our bewilderment.” This principle works in a great university, and it is a fundamental principle of democratic life that can and should be preserved and extended. Thomas Jefferson put it even more strongly in a letter from Paris to Abigail Adams, when he wrote, “The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it always to be kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be exercised at all.” In writing of this Jeffersonian statement shortly after World War I, the late Frank I. Cobb of the *New York World* observed: “If the author of the Declaration of Independence were to utter such a sentiment to-day, the Post Office Department could exclude him from the mail, grand juries could indict him for sedition and criminal syndicalism, legislative committees could seize his private papers and search them for evidence of bolshevism, and United States Senators would be clamoring for his deportation on the ground that he had been tainted with the ribald doctrines of the French Revolution and should be sent back to live with the rest of the terrorists.”

The deep hold that the formal guaranties of freedom of expression have upon the American people places tremendous responsibilities upon publishers of newspapers, magazines, and books and upon operators of radio stations and public places of assembly. In our large and vastly complex society, the freedom to mount a soap box in “Bug House Square,” Chicago, or Columbus Circle, New York, is not enough. A spokesman on a soap box and a spokesman on a radio network are not on anything approaching even terms, even though it is quite possible



that the spokesman on the soap box may more nearly approximate popular interests and needs in his economic and political thinking. The proprietors of media of communication thus are faced with the responsibility of somehow providing access to their media for all significant popular spokesmen; or they have the responsibility of so organizing the content of their media that they express the views, interests, and types of fact wanted by all groups in the community. In the case of daily newspapers, if their reports from distant places are inaccurate, if pertinent facts or accounts are left out, they may cause even the best citizen to form an opinion, and to turn his energies in a direction, which the good citizen himself may eventually discover to be against the best interests of society, as he sees those best interests. This is, obviously, an eventuality most wasteful of human energies and dangerous to the welfare of society itself.

## WHAT GETS IN ITS WAY ?

**F**REEDOM of the press and also of speech, assembly, and worship can persist as social forms and legal guaranties, while at the same time their functional realities can be gradually slipping away. I have mentioned some of the ways in which legal guaranties are being maintained in the United States, even during the most vast of all wars, and now it is important to look to the ways in which the actualities of freedom of expression are evaporating. In doing this, I shall refer especially to the situation in the newspaper field.

Modern methods of daily newspaper production and circulation have made of the metropolitan daily a very big business and even of the small-city daily a considerable enterprise. It takes a huge investment of venture capital to launch one, and it takes great ability and continuous application by a large staff to keep it in successful operation. Little wonder that so few are started and that it is usually cheaper, where possible, to buy, rather than to start, a daily newspaper.

This has made for fewer and fewer daily publications

to each city in this country, and, as a part of this situation, two tendencies restrictive of freedom of expression and discussion should be stressed. In the first place, the ownership units in a given city have a wide range of ways in which they can protect their properties from new daily newspaper competition. As they have thus become financially more secure, owners are more effectively and conclusively able to combine papers into single local monopolistic units that can benefit from the operating advantages of a noncompetitive market. And such financial stability, in the second place, has attracted to positions of dominance in the daily newspaper business personalities of quite a different sort from those editors who once dipped their pens in their veins and wrote. After all, in Jefferson's time, it was only necessary to assure a journalist of a part-time appointment as a clerk in the State Department, and to give him the traditional "hatful of type," to assure the emergence of a strong competitor to the most important Federalist organ!

Let us look briefly at these two aspects of the limitation of press freedom and then turn to the ways in which they are related to more general phases of the major problem of freedom in our society.

What conditions help to create monopolistic or semi-monopolistic control of daily newspaper markets? How conscious are publishers of the monopolistic trend they are following and promoting? *Editor & Publisher*, the leading trade journal for daily newspaper publishers, concluded on December 31, 1938, that the "condition has arisen not by the will of any individual or group, but from a gradual growth of custom, both in newspaper

operation and in the purchase of advertising space.” The same journal then mentioned the way in which editorial services have multiplied and have tended to “freeze themselves into the newspaper structure.” It also added these additional factors: “Wages have risen steadily in post-war days, and, despite the reductions of five years ago, the general level approximates 1929 figures. Income has never enjoyed a similar recovery. For good or ill, union regulations have minimized the amount of control a publisher wields over his payroll. Taxes offer no paths to economy. Paper and raw-material costs and the normal overhead are with difficulty trimmed to meet lowered incomes.” It thus had become impossible, in all but the largest cities, “to operate a ‘second’ newspaper with any prospect of a permanent, comfortable but not affluent income.” The editor tried to clinch this by pointing out that the “advertising business buys its space on the basis of circulation coverage and has little patience with claims of ‘quality’ as against all-inclusive quantity. Retail merchants would rather pay one advertising bill than two or three, and seem to have found no loss of efficiency in the reduced space cost.”

As daily newspapers have grown in size and power, they have been served by better (and more expensive) presses, circulation systems, news-gathering arrangements, feature syndicates, and the like, and each of these devices has either (1) raised the price of the “chips” in the “game” of daily newspaper publication or (2) erected other barriers against newcomers that defied even sizable amounts of money.

As ownership interests in newspapers have thus become more secure, publishers have been able to combine

papers into stable local monopolies. This has resulted in a steadily increasing list of (1) cities with only one daily newspaper and (2) cities with one or more dailies under common control, together with a concomitant decline of (3) cities with competing daily newspapers.

Here are some of the figures: The number of cities served by only one daily newspaper has mounted steadily from 353 in 1899 to 724 in 1920 and to 1,100 in 1942. Cities with local monopolies (i.e., where one or more dailies are under one ownership) increased meanwhile from 743 in 1920 to 1,276 in 1942. Between 1920 and 1942 the total number of cities served by daily newspapers rose only from 1,292 to 1,403, a peak of 1,460 being reached and passed in 1937.

As this march toward local monopolies proceeded, the cities with competing dailies steadily declined. The number of such cities dropped from 549 in 1920 to only 127 in 1942. And the percentage of cities with local competition dropped dangerously from 42.5 to 9.1! Little wonder that even *Editor & Publisher*, the trade spokesman, in mentioning the "1,200 cities in which single newspapers or single ownerships now supply all the printed news," branded this long-term tendency a "serious danger" and "not . . . . a healthful trend in journalism."

In its December 31, 1938, editorial, that journal predicted that "we will have the serious danger that newspapers will be more and more considered by their owners, their advertisers, and their readers merely as vehicles for printed paid advertisements. That must not happen." This trade paper feared particularly that "freedom for minority expression will be curtailed, especially

in a period when political feelings tend toward extremes, and when one extreme sees not only no good but positive danger in the beliefs of the other. The American system thrives best when ideas strike sparks and opposites rub each other into usable size and shape.”

Even the tabulations summarized do not give an adequate notion of the extent to which the restrictive movement has gone. They do not take into account, for example, many of the details of joint-ownerships and of possible “gentlemen’s agreements” concerning co-operation that are known to exist. In other words, it is only in such large centers as New York, Chicago, Washington, and Philadelphia, and in a few smaller places, that dailies with differing political and economic views actually exist and compete with one another. For that matter, only in New York are there such contrasting papers as the *Wall Street Journal*, *Daily Worker*, *Times*, *Herald Tribune*, *Daily News*, *PM*, *Sun*, *Mirror*, *Post*, and *World-Telegram*.

Even in the twenty-five largest cities in the United States there have been drastic cuts in daily newspaper competition. In each of them there are now an average of approximately one and one-half morning and two evening—only three and one-half—dailies. And the cut in the number of ownerships in these cities has been about the same—down to a current total of only 76, or an average of three to each city.

This situation, as I suggested at the outset of the discussion, not only is menacing in itself but also is dangerous because of the types of men and women whom newspaper monopolies bring into positions of domi-

nance. I find myself curiously in agreement with Colonel McCormick when he said in 1934: "Men who are given dictatorial powers invariably become tyrants, with the tyrannical conviction that they are heaven-sent, that what they do is divinely inspired, and that dissent is treason." He was, of course, talking, as he does frequently, about the New Deal, and we would probably disagree when I would insist that this excellent principle applies to newspaper publishers and presidents of large corporations as well as to public servants.

Oddly enough, William Randolph Hearst characterized many of our contemporary newspaper publishers quite well for *Editor & Publisher* in 1924 in reply to the question, "Is the political influence of the American press, in general, declining or increasing, and why?" He retorted: "I rather think that the influence of the American press is on the whole declining. This, I believe, is because so many newspapers are owned or influenced by reactionary interests and predatory corporations, and are used selfishly to promote the welfare of these reactionary interests rather than the welfare of the public. This tends to weaken the confidence of the public in all newspapers more or less."

The existing publishers, who include both the kind Hearst describes and some with more idealistic vision, have, after all, a vested interest in the facilities they have built over the years, or inherited. Many of these facilities may be almost irreplaceable. Few publishers will, therefore, be idealistic enough to wish to share these for the purpose of preserving freedom of expression, especially if that step means a sacrifice of property rights and other privileges they have enjoyed uninterruptedly for a con-

siderable period. Even though the newcomer may help to preserve the free press as an institution, even though he may so increase popular interest in newspaper reading as to offset in part at least the division of advertising and subscription revenues, intrenched papers are naturally not to be expected to seek out and welcome newcomers.

There is a theory that advertisers exert pressure by threats of withdrawal of their patronage and thus influence the news and editorial policy of papers in terms either of suppression or of "handouts." This is a crucial problem in American journalism upon which a great deal has been written pro and con. The late E. W. Scripps feared the influence of advertisers on newspaper policy. While the advertising that the *Cleveland Press* carried in its early days exerted no pressure on his policy, his own editorial experience made him afraid of the effect on editors with less independence than he had. This advertiser threat was a reason why he experimented with the adless *Chicago Day Book* and the *Philadelphia News-Post*, and a limited-advertising daily, the *San Francisco News*.

The drive that impelled Scripps to make such demands upon himself is indicated clearly in a letter he wrote in 1914 to the late Lincoln Steffens in which he said: "I shall be satisfied that, notwithstanding all of my shortcomings that you have so fully recognized, I shall have done a big man's big life work, when, if ever, I shall demonstrate that the people can have a free press, not only without having it subsidized or endowed, but a free



press that will not only support but magnificently reward those who conduct its various units.”

Even though he did not experiment with any newspaper other than his own *Emporia Gazette*, a paper that accepts advertising, the late William Allen White had much the same opinions on advertiser influence as did Scripps. In addition, he too believed that the current conditions of daily newspaper publication select dominant personalities who are on the whole businessmen first and editors second. White stated in the *Chicago Times* in 1939 that the “most serious danger that menaces the freedom of the American press is the obvious anxiety of rich publishers about the freedom of the press.” He denominated this danger more specifically as the “unconscious class arrogance of the consciously rich” among those who publish, edit, and write.

With his broad experience in daily newspaper work, White naturally did not oversimplify the relationship of business interests to the interests represented in the columns of a paper. “The publisher is not bought like a chattel. Indeed he often is able to buy those who are suspected of buying him. But he takes the color of his social environment.” As a result, White indicated, the average publisher “is pretty generally against organized labor. He is too often found opposing the government control of public utilities. He instinctively fears any regulation of the stock exchange. The right to strike seems to the rich publisher and his Chamber of Commerce friends to be sheer anarchy. It is inevitable that the managing editor and the editorial writers who want to hold their jobs take their professional views and get their professional slant from their boss, the man who

signs the payroll check.” And so it is, as White sagely observed, that “it often happens, alas too often, that a newspaper publisher, reflecting this unconscious class arrogance of the consciously rich, thinks he is printing news when he is doctoring it innocently enough. He thinks he is purveying the truth when much that he offers seems poison to hundreds of thousands of his readers who don’t move in his social and economic stratosphere.”

As a practical matter, advertising cannot always be brushed aside in the manner of the *Day Book* and *PM*. To make it possible to sell a paper at the least cost to a reader, it is usually necessary to get advertisers to share in the costs of production and distribution. Historically, it is to be noted that, in pre-World War II France, advertising revenues were extremely low and that the press resorted to all kinds of special interests and to the government as sources for subsidies. There is always the danger that if the press is not supported by advertisers, it will fall under the control of others willing to subsidize it. Furthermore, a great many readers like to learn what wares are displayed; they regard advertising as a convenience.

I believe, however, that advertiser domination can be avoided in a way other than doing without advertising. This is by allowing the staff to focus its attention so fixedly upon producing a paper to which subscribers are devoted that advertisers will either be forced to purchase space or face the consequences of foregoing an excellent avenue through which to extend their sales efforts. I admit that this alternative depends upon the good will and continued financial independence of the

publisher or owner of the paper and that all sorts of commercial temptations are likely to be thrown in his way in efforts to pervert his paper. I also admit that there are advertisers and business interests who will not divorce an immediate project for selling goods or services from their political and economic objectives. An honest paper that accepts advertising must get along without such support. Advertisers have been most generous in placing their advertising with the *Chicago Sun*, even when they completely disagreed with some of the *Sun*'s editorials. They at least have been willing to use as one of their media, without seeking to exert pressure, a paper with which they differed from time to time.

As for the indirect factors bearing upon news and editorial policies that Scripps and White feared, I can only say that the "unconscious class arrogance of the consciously rich" is a grave danger of which I am deeply aware.

The fact that editorially the vast majority of the dailies in the country opposed the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944—even though the President rolled up decisive majorities—planted the suspicion in many minds that newspaper proprietors had lost touch with their readers. Particularly is this so when it is fairly common knowledge that most of the reporters and editorial writers disagreed with their anti-Roosevelt publishers, privately predicted Roosevelt victories even though they had to write against Roosevelt, and voted for the President.

Dean Mott of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, after tracing the relations between newspaper support and presidential elections from the time

of Washington, concludes that there "seems to be no correlation, positive or negative, between the support of a majority of newspapers during a campaign and success at the polls." To account for this, he speaks of machine politics and expresses categorical disapproval of an editor's becoming "a slave to Dr. Gallup's polls. Even a Congressman has more liberty of opinion than that." And, he adds, "to say yes to the local majority is usually the path of least resistance for a newspaper. But to place an editor or publisher under obligation to follow the majority in the expression of opinion would be an intolerable tyranny."

But, despite what he says about "correlation," let us look at what Mott concludes has been the relationship between newspaper support and the election of specific presidents. His list of presidents whose candidacies were opposed by a majority of the press includes Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln (first candidacy), Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Those aided in their election by a majority of the press have been, among others, U. S. Grant, Grover Cleveland, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert C. Hoover! In other words, Mott unaccountably finds nothing of significance with which to correlate the fact that the majority of the newspapers have supported our greatest presidential protectors of vested privilege and have opposed our greatest liberal presidents!

With honorable exceptions, the record of the press on many other matters of public interest is part of the same pattern. Far too many newspapers opposed the neces-

sary public relief and public works programs instituted during the depression and have at other times fought social legislation which they thought would raise taxes.

Perhaps the matter might be stated rather simply thus: Wherever there is a striking issue between property rights and human rights upon which the people are permitted to pass judgment, the majority of the press has aligned itself on the side of property rights. Sometimes, when the issue is confused, the press has carried the people with it. But when the issue has been clearly enough defined between the partisans, and the facts have reached the public, the majority of America's voters have ignored the special-interest pleas of the publishers.

Obviously there are many publishers who are both sincere and conservative, just as there are similar people in other walks of life. Such publishers believe that most change is in the wrong direction, and they are satisfied that all good men are or should be content with conditions as they are. They therefore serve as a brake on changes—both changes that are urgently needed and changes that otherwise might take place too soon, possibly also too violently and even chaotically.

Fair-minded men will not quarrel with the right of publishers, if such are their convictions, even in monopolistic fields, to give vent to their own conservative opinions in their editorial pages. Such men feel, however, that they are well justified in condemning publishers who distort news reports to suit their own lines of thought or who seek to stifle free discussion by anathematizing those with progressive ideas or by stimulating the use of parliamentary and legal devices, economic power, or even naked force to accomplish their ends.

The limitations of human witnesses of events are well known in any court of law. Because of this, the only insistence that a publisher of a newspaper can reiterate is that the editorial staff, from editor-in-chief down, should have this as a prime objective: All staff members should have an intense curiosity for facts, more facts and more objective facts, and they should be given freedom to report and interpret newsworthy facts as accurately and as fully as possible—with no thought as to whether or not they please or displease anyone. In addition to its manifest iniquity, the suppression frequently accomplishes the opposite goal to the one sought.

But that still does not answer the question: What facts? Obviously one has to be selective. A newspaper cannot print reports of all the world's events each day. And the selection of news and the planning of news emphasis are arts which only long experience and a good deal of native genius on the part of managing editors can achieve satisfactorily.

The answer to this question depends, in part, upon the local competitive situation. The responsibility for the dissemination of news is such, particularly in the vast number of American cities where monopolies now exist, that no publisher has the right to use a newspaper for the expression of his whims, prejudices, and ambitions. In the matter of news selection, obviously no one newspaper can cover all the news, nor can it state editorially all sides of every question; but, in a monopolistic field, the publisher must insist that his staff strive for something approaching the ideal that may be called representativeness.

What is representativeness? In the case of a monop-

olistic daily newspaper, this means offering the people a paper that will satisfy every group in the community by containing a fair presentation of the group's point of view and activities. This, if drabness is to be avoided, cannot be done by wholes but must be done by parts. In the various parts of a broadly representative paper will be found the things which, when considered in the aggregate, give each significant group in the field, or city, what it can reasonably expect from a fair editorial staff in the way of news, editorial interpretation, and advocacy of interests and public projects. Speeches on both sides of any controversial question should be adequately presented.

The situation in a truly competitive daily newspaper market is obviously different from that in a monopolistic setup. Here the dynamics of competition for group representation force the various existing papers to represent different groups in order to continue. Where there is a monopoly, it is all too easy for any human being, and especially a powerful publisher or editor, to convince himself that the telling of some fact may jeopardize the attainment of a goal which he presumes to be essential or at least desirable. The only way to check this frequently biased judgment of fact and opinion against realities, as reflected all too faithfully by employees, is in the crucible of *adequate* competition.

Only in a competitive field, a field in which newspaper competes *in news and views* against newspaper, magazine against magazine, radio station against radio station, and the various media against each other, can there be some approximation of popular representation that will remain effective over a period of time. Only in



real competition, with a number of different points of view to compare and to choose from, points of view actually presented and advocated, can there be said to be some real substance to the freedom of expression and discussion offered.

The late Hearst columnist Arthur Brisbane once asserted that "a man's newspaper, like his god, is apt to reflect his own peculiarities," but the same writer also is credited with the contention that a newspaper can have as many readers as it is made for, a thousand or a million, a select group in a city or a large share of its population. Like many of the catchy ideas that Brisbane used to throw off, this one also has an essential weakness. One gets the impression that he is referring to a medium primarily of *news* communication, and one gets the same idea from much that editors and publishers write so glowingly about their papers facing "a referendum every day, expressed in the pennies and nickels of the people." This is, of course, an absurdity. They are protected from circulation risk by offering a much less controversial commodity than economic and political news reports as their chief circulation bait; I refer to their use of features, sports news, and sensational trivia. Features include chiefly comic strips, short stories, cartoons, Hollywood gossip, fashion hints, recipes, racing tips, astrological mumbo-jumbo, crossword puzzles, and all the rest of the things that make some of our daily newspapers into primarily *entertainment* media and only secondarily purveyors of news *bulletins*, all of which sugar-coat the special viewpoints expressed in editorials, slanted news commentaries, and selected news reports.

The only devices we have ever discovered through



which the selection of facts can remain representative of mass interests are a dependence upon subscribers for support and, as I indicated above, competition. In a competitive community the dependence upon subscriber support can be achieved either through the publication of a paper without paid advertising or through producing a paper with such devoted subscribers that advertisers will purchase space in it regardless of editorial policies in order to sell their wares to them. The latter course requires considerable single-mindedness and avoidance of commercial temptation.

Outstanding among the obstacles to the emergence of competition in the daily newspaper field are the artificial barriers some of these publishers have erected, so that newcomers either are placed at great expense or find it impossible to obtain adequate news- and picture-gathering facilities. I refer especially to protective barriers such as the Associated Press has created for its members.

In times past, daily newspapers combined their efforts to get news and jointly established facilities that even then would have been financially and physically impossible for them to create separately and alone. Such efforts date from the Associated Press of New York State in 1846 and from the Associated Press of New York City in 1848. The number of newspapers that now have such co-operative news-gathering facilities, and are satisfied with them, makes it unfeasible at the present time to form a new association. Even were such a competitive organization financially possible, it would still be physically impossible to find the wire facilities,

trained correspondents, and the other requisites to reproduce the output of the Associated Press.

In substance, membership in the Associated Press gives any publisher a definite advantage in competition over any nonmember. Thus the Associated Press has become an instrument that helps to make possible and that encourages local daily newspaper monopolies. This was one of the aspects of the Associated Press which I mentioned in my statement of complaint filed with the United States Department of Justice charging AP with a violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act.

My own chief endeavors in the promotion of more freedom of discussion have been four in number. I have undertaken to support a newspaper, *PM*, that represents an experiment in journalism—an experiment that may well become significant for the daily newspaper of the future. It provides current news of importance, not as a compendium of events, but set forth in relation to other pertinent events, background, and interpretive materials. It is staff-controlled and carries no advertising.

I have established a new paper, the *Sun*, that competes with a paper previously maintaining a local morning monopoly and that introduced into Chicago's morning-newspaper field a strikingly different slant on national, as well as international, affairs.

Particularly because of what I learned in getting the *Sun* under way concerning obstacles to press freedom in this country, I filed with the federal Department of Justice a statement of complaint against the monopolistic practices of the Associated Press; and it is my hope that, if the government is successful in its pending suit, new

competing dailies may be established throughout the country.

And I have also tentatively entered the radio field.

Now the number of committees of responsible citizens from cities other than New York and Chicago who call upon me and urge me to start a paper in their own community makes me feel that I have embarked upon a series of ventures that many Americans regard as of significant importance. I may accomplish no more than did E. W. Scripps in his similar efforts to "demonstrate that the people can have a free press, . . . . without having it subsidized or endowed." But if I accomplish as much, for as long a period of time, I shall be satisfied.

### III

## *Efforts To Promote Freedom*



## *PM*

**T**HE theory of *PM* has been, since its beginning, that it should be a kind of newspaperman's ideal. This was to be true in three respects—its social outlook, its internal structure, and its makeup and method. The idea was that men who worked as independently as they wished would say the things that needed most to be said.

Like every vital human enterprise, *PM* has had a stormy history and has made enemies as well as friends. Yet, on the whole, it has worked out with so great a degree of success that, after four years, it may be said that the average newspaperman, wherever he works, lives in a different climate of opinion and breathes a different air because of *PM*.

Let me consider briefly the three related aspects of the *PM* plan.

First, it was to be and is a fighting newspaper. Ralph Ingersoll, whose idea *PM* largely was, and who wrote the original memorandum on it which launched its promotion, put this in its now classic form: "We are against

people who push other people around, just for the fun of it, whether they flourish in this country or abroad. We are against fraud and deceit and cruelty and greed, and will seek to expose their practitioners." That is still *PM*'s mission, as it should be the mission of any citizen who accepts his responsibility to the American tradition of fair play, decency, and democracy. What it adds up to in newspaper terms is a mandate to the newspaperman to tell the truth as he sees it, both in domestic and in foreign affairs, even though the truth may hurt powerful interests; to call his shots as he makes them; and to fight oppression and authoritarianism wherever he may find them.

That leads directly into the second aspect of *PM*'s plan. An anti-authoritarian paper had, of necessity, to be dominated by its own staff rather than by any authority on the outside. To give it the freedom to carry on its crusading journalism, *PM* has been as far as possible removed from any outside restriction or domination—outside, that is to say, of the human limitations of the men and women who launched it and who have done the actual work of carrying it on.

Finally, related to this freedom from outside control, has been freedom of method and experiment. Ingersoll put it well in one of the most searching sentences of his prospectus: "In journalism—which is the pursuit of the truth in man's contemporary society and history—the best in talent and organization, in knowledge and perception, in courage and wisdom is not so perfect that it should be asked to carry the burden of obsolete tools, of interests antagonistic to the truth, or famine of knowledge and talent to digest it." From this central concep-

tion flowed the search for new talent—for men who would come to their tasks with fresh eyes and without too many of the stereotypes of the conventional newspaper. From it flowed also the effort to break down the barriers between the editors and the reader, to write with a candor that would take the reader into the confidence of the editors. From it flowed the continual experimentation with makeup in order to find a format that would departmentalize the content gracefully and helpfully and would present the news as briefly and as conveniently as possible. And from it flowed, finally, the decision not to accept paid advertising.

One purpose of this final decision was to make the paper more independent in the long run through being structurally more independent, not just independent in attitude. It thus could not grow to rely on advertising income but would ultimately be supported by its readers for itself alone. The most crucial reason, however, Ingersoll put as follows in his original memorandum:

“Although I had no philosophical prejudice against advertising as such, I had long felt strongly that, as currently organized, the advertising operation in newspapers worked against the reader in many ways—tending to limit the editors’ freedom of action, make the paper cumbersome and inconvenient physically, and constantly distract the publisher from devising new ways of making his paper more valuable to the reader.”

In the place of paid advertising, *PM* carried in its early days news summaries of the advertising printed simultaneously in the other local dailies. Since then, this treatment has shifted to the provision of a section of the paper which gives a continuing survey and analysis



of shopping possibilities, consumers' standards, and relative prices, and which is integrated with the rest of the paper by its vigorous championing of legislation and administrative actions in the interests of consumers.

Can a paper so conceived—a crusading, anti-authoritarian, staff-dominated paper, run without advertising, and challenging many of the sacred cows of the status quo and of journalism—make its way toward a balanced budget and an effective impact on public opinion? That is the question *PM* has sought to answer. It is a question many a newspaperman had asked for years as he and his fellows vented their frustration at publisher domination in bull sessions over glasses of beer.

After two years of preparation, *PM* was born on June 18, 1940, into a world that Kenneth Stewart characterized in its first issue as “waiting, waiting, waiting for news from Munich—talking, talking, talking—about what to do about it when it comes.” The front-page headline was HITLER ARRIVES IN MUNICH TO MEET MUSSOLINI, and it referred to the conference preceding Mussolini’s “stab in the back” administered to France. Ingersoll told the readers of the first issue that “the news is too big, too terrible, to seem for a second like a break for a newspaper coming into being. Instead, it dwarfs us. And it pitches us without preparation into the midst of horror. It means that we, who wanted time in which to grow up, shall have no youth—shall be gray-haired from birth—and that with no experience we must rise instantly to a sense of enormous responsibilities.”

But this was only one of the difficulties *PM* met. A

big obstacle which *PM*, and later the *Sun*, had to surmount was that of obtaining access to the news dealers and newsstands—the existing distribution system. This was probably the last thing a newcomer to journalism like myself expected, but it was a difficult problem. In any city the existing papers have traditional rights on the newsstands, have well-developed distribution facilities, and have created a degree of dependency among dealers. They have also ways of making their control of these distribution systems even more effective by alliances with police, politicians, and even underworld elements.

But *PM*'s greatest obstacle was the resistance it met from those whom it hurt. Because it had set out seriously to fight the "people who push other people around," and had met the concerted opposition of the reactionary press and the other reactionary forces in American life, it was smeared as "communistic" and ridiculed as "half-baked" and "do-good." Something like that effort to smear has continued almost from the start of the paper down to the present time.

*PM* was born, as I have said, in June of 1940. Its original financial backers included seventeen individuals. The expenses of the first summer ran high, and since the paper had not reached anything like a self-sustaining basis before the end of the year 1940, it became a question of whether it could continue. It was at that time that I, as one of the original seventeen stockholders, decided that what *PM* had already done and still could do for American life was much too great to be lost. I therefore took over responsibility for the venture and promised to underwrite its probable deficits for a long

enough period so that the experiment might be given an adequate trial. In taking this step, I made no change in the structure of control within *PM*. I wanted the paper to continue as a publication operated and controlled by working newspapermen. Occasionally I sit in on editorial conferences, but I do so strictly as an observer. Since Ingersoll has gone into the Army, the responsibility for editorial policies rests clearly and entirely upon the shoulders of John P. Lewis and the rest of the staff. The paper has now reached a stable basis and has a steadily growing circulation all over the country that promises to keep it self-supporting.

With respect to myself, some people seem to consider it strange that I should have paid out money to meet a paper's deficit without throwing my weight around in an effort to manipulate the paper's editorial policies and news content. I do not, however, find it so in the least. Even though I have no editorial control, I respect the basic conception with which *PM* was started and with which it has continued, and I am convinced that it is paying dividends to me and to all other Americans who care about the promise of American life and the early traditions of freedom in American newspapers.

Like all honest newspapermen, the members of *PM*'s staff are aware of what still remains for them to do to achieve their ideals. Yet *PM* has had and is having a healthy and important impact on American life, not only in New York but throughout the country.

I can perhaps describe this impact best in terms of various aspects of *PM*'s function, as its editors see it,

and also in the form of replies to various questions about *PM* that are frequently asked by outsiders.

One such question is whether *PM* is not a daily magazine rather than a daily newspaper. I think it is more accurate to place the emphasis differently by saying that *PM* has challenged and redefined the conventional concept of news. It is not a magazine and was never meant to be, if you think of a magazine as a leisurely publication, with little sense of immediacy, which comes along well after an event with feature articles on interesting phases of life. *PM* is geared to the day's news. But it does not consider its job done when it has retailed press-service dispatches, when it has taken the "facts" as they come in and dished them out at random. What is known as "news" today is often an implement in the struggle of groups competing for power, and its indirect bearings on that struggle must often be scrutinized before the newspaperman can tell whether or not he is being used to grind someone's ax. What is known as "news" today is usually only a fleeting fragment of a larger whole. It is usually a surface projection of a cluster of difficult issues whose substance and reality are, like an iceberg, nine-tenths hidden below the surface.

Thus *PM* comes to its conception of news with the conviction that the world of economics, politics, and international affairs has become at once so dangerous and so complex that the ordinary man cannot find his way around in it without warnings and aids. Hence *PM*'s emphasis on "debunking" current "news stories"—"debunking" being journalese for the scalpel dissection of the interested motives which certain power groups may

have in propagandizing a given version of the news. Hence also *PM*'s emphasis on the research which will present the background and framework within which the isolated "news" items take on intelligibility. For *PM*, news has continuity and meaning. It tries day by day, hour by hour, as the news breaks, to bring to bear upon it all the available insight, research, background, and interpretation, without which the isolated conventional "news" item is like a shout in the dark.

With this conception of news, *PM* has been able to take part in a number of significant journalistic campaigns.

Take, as an instance, the question of the war economy and its adequacy for the task that lay ahead of it in 1940: Among the most typical and most important of the *PM* campaigns to date was the series (in November, 1940) on the monopoly held by the Aluminum Corporation of America, which told of the throttling of American production of aviation metals and materials. At the time both the business interests involved and the government officials charged with neglect of these critical defense materials denied the charges and the reasoning in the *PM* stories. Yet the subsequent production figures, and the Truman Committee reports on critical materials shortages, bore out the *PM* articles.

Or take another area in which *PM* has every reason to be proud of its work. The TNEC (Temporary National Economic Committee) had been holding hearings on the structure of American industries in Washington for several years before *PM* was started. In February, 1941, *PM* ran a full report of the current TNEC hearings on the insurance industry. The reports on these

hearings were careful, objective records of testimony on monopoly tendencies within the industry, internal price controls, the relation of premiums to risks, irresponsibilities in the writing of industrial insurance, and the need for some form of federal control. It did not require any "scoop" or extra research on *PM*'s part to uncover this story. It was available to every newspaper that had a staff or a correspondent in Washington. What happened was that *PM* saw the importance of what other newspapers may have considered too technical, and, above all, *PM* had the courage to present material that other newspapers probably also thought too "hot," because of the powerful interests concerned. It was partly as a result of the publicity given to these TNEC insurance hearings that the effort of the powerful insurance lobby in 1944 to put through Congress an act exempting insurance companies from the antitrust laws was promptly met and frustrated under the leadership of Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, chairman of TNEC.

I have mentioned several *PM* campaigns which might go unnoticed by the side of *PM*'s persistent crusade against isolationism, international appeasement, and internal Fascist forces in America. This crusade has become almost synonymous with *PM* in the minds of millions of Americans, whether they be sympathetic or not with *PM*'s purposes. The articles which form part of this have included Ralph Ingersoll's eyewitness reports of London under the blitz, the steady and persistent exposure of the nature of Franco's regime and the dangers of appeasing it, the reports on racial injustices and discriminations against Negroes in southern and northern cities alike, and the exposure of the anti-Jewish cancer

in the American body politic. Even grouped into series, the articles have been too numerous to mention.

Through this type of democratic newspaper crusading, which might be called "spearhead journalism," the American public learned that *PM* is the place where people can get a hearing if they have a just cause. This is true whether they represent racial or religious minorities, pro-labor groups, independent businessmen fighting the monopolists, consumers, or individuals deprived of civil liberties in one way or another. *PM* became and remains the focus of whatever cries out for courage against injustice; and so completely has it come to epitomize efforts to remedy injustice that newspapermen working for other papers often seek out *PM* reporters and give them material they know their own editors would not accept.

One might say that *PM* has not fought with equal militancy for the rights and interests of the big corporations and the conservative groups in America. I suspect that that would be an accurate statement, at least in a superficial sense, even though *PM* has promoted a more healthy American society, and all legitimate organizations benefit from a more healthy society. More directly, the answer is that *PM* has not considered its function to be that of viewing with equal impartiality both sides of the struggles between the strong and the weak, the big and the small, the monopolists and the independents, the intrenched and those who still have their way to make. The *PM* writers have seen their function as best expressed by Justice Holmes when he spoke



about "the equality of position between the parties in which liberty . . . . begins." To do as much as possible to help create that "equality of position," to aid in establishing conditions "in which liberty . . . . begins," has been the aim of *PM* staff members.

There are some who will raise the question of the lack of our traditional gentlemanliness in this sort of crusading journalism, which is willing to attack individuals it regards as the representatives or the symbols of evils it fights. But, as I mentioned in the preceding chapter, a certain lack of gentlemanliness is a requisite of democracy. Gentlemen are comfortable associates, but they are seldom as constructive socially as those who treasure social welfare above social formalities.

Ungentlemanliness is nothing new in crusading journalism. It is, of course, essential to it. In fact, any invective culled from *PM*'s pages would seem mild in comparison with what was flung about in the days of the Bennetts and the Greeleys, the Wattersons and the Danas. Restraint is not always a virtue when crying injustice needs to be met head-on. Ingersoll early imbued his staff with the importance of getting mad, and staying mad, at the right things. He asked what the Fascists would have to do before we would rise in our wrath against them. In the appeasement days he needled his staff and his readers with the repeated question, "What are we going to do about it?" It would have been impossible and immoral for any thinking and feeling writer and editor to have remained placid and constantly good-mannered in the face of the facts being brought to his attention.



*PM's* attitude on crusading tactics is based on two premises, both of which are crucial if we are to have a great daily journalism in our time.

The first of these premises is that anonymity may become a mask for injustice and that, where it does, names must be named to strip the mask away. Most people think in terms of personalities and not of abstractions. That is why so many politicians will be willing to defend or attack an abstraction: it draws no blood and leaves no mark. If a newspaper attacks a generalization, and those who are meant by it are left unnamed, the attacked can rest secure in their intrenchments. Thus it becomes apparent how important depersonalized journalism may be in protecting the present distribution of justice and injustice, privilege and underprivilege, power and impotence, wealth and poverty, freedom and slavery. And while the exposure of the role of particular persons should never be an end in itself, there are times and situations when only the naming of names can blast away apathy and lay the truth open to all people.

The second premise is that the evils of our time have real social causes and do not come into existence by the mere fact that the evils are named and attacked. There is a curious current superstition that if a newspaper attacks discrimination against Negroes and Jews, it thereby fosters that discrimination and creates racial and religious strife. That seems to me superficial to the extent of being fatuous. It seems to me related to the taboos in primitive tribes which forbid one's speaking of disease or drought lest one should bring on such a calamity by the naming of it. I believe that social evils

like racism and religious hatred have real sources and real causes. These sources and causes cannot be traced and treated adequately except through public exposure and through the co-operation that comes from public knowledge and understanding.

*PM* has become a leader in public exposure and, I am convinced, performs public service by bringing to the people knowledge and understanding of many matters about which they would otherwise be uninformed.

## THE *CHICAGO SUN*

I WAS born in Chicago, and my grandfather made in Chicago the fortune that I have inherited. It is therefore only natural that the problems of that city should have a peculiar and special interest for me. But the importance of Chicago to the Middle West, and to the nation as a whole, carries my concern in the affairs of that city beyond any sentimental attachment, however great that might be.

At the center of vast networks of railroads, of waterways, and now of world-wide airways, Chicago has a vital part in world developments. Politically, the Middle West is the heart of the United States, and, in the Middle West, Chicago has a dominating role. Public thinking in Chicago and the Middle West has a tremendous significance for the country as a whole, even when the net direction of opinion may be otherwise.

Chicago's destiny, like that of all American cities, is intertwined with the nation's and indeed with the world's. The success with which anyone attacks his own problems at home will depend in large degree upon the

national and international policies which the Middle West and the country as a whole adopt. But there is, naturally, no dividing-line between a given locality's problems, the country's, and the world's. The question of an organized and lasting peace; the question of a prosperous and stable national economy operating at full capacity; and the question of making Chicago a better place in which to live—these are all phases of the same fundamental problem. It is the problem of mobilizing our abundant resources—world, national, and local—for the greatest good of the greatest number. And, at every level, the welfare of each of us is dependent upon the general welfare of all.

Despite the crucial role of the Middle West in the nation, Chicago's morning-newspaper situation for some time represented a serious problem. The field had been monopolized by a morning paper which utilizes its news and editorial columns to present and advocate the narrow political and economic views of its publisher. I will refrain from wearying the reader with examples of distortion of news items carried in the *Chicago Tribune*, but what shall we say of a newspaper that has carried the following statements, among others, as its own editorial opinion? The *Tribune* has said from time to time, with persistent adherence to such views:

*Up to its present stage, we believe, Fascism has been more than justified, not in every act of every member, for the Fascisti are human, but in the main course of its conduct . . . . the Fascisti . . . . have restored the essential of ordered society, discipline [November 18, 1922].*

*The TRIBUNE has no prejudice against Fascism. It knows the social and economic disorders and governmental weak-*

*nesses from which Mussolini rescued the land [July 29, 1925].*

*There are merits in an intelligent and beneficent tyranny or autocracy [November 3, 1926].*

*Fascism has produced impressive results which parliamentary government and a regime of civil liberty did not achieve and showed little evidence of achieving [June 24, 1928].*

Whether or not such feelings were caused by fear of the Soviet Union is beside the question. The feelings were there, were expressed editorially, and were linked with many other pro-authoritarian and with few pro-democratic tendencies.

Never, never, to illustrate, did the *Tribune* emphasize that the German constitution was suppressed by the Nazis, that all rival political parties were disbanded or driven underground, and that Roman Catholics and Protestants as well as Jews were being persecuted.

Let us take another of those "inconsistencies" which are in reality a reflection of a consistent policy. With regard to the "March of the Japanese," the *Tribune* asserted in 1933: "Protesting ideologues call it the march of ruthless militarism, but it is the march of an expanding people." The "great imperial dream which has visited so many peoples down the long vista of human history," it continued, "shines in the skies of Japan." The *Tribune* warned the United States against offending the sensitive Japanese by building up our Navy. "The comments of the Japanese press upon American naval building plans," roared the *Tribune*, "are not without justifi-

cation. We must acknowledge that the administration plans have not been announced with due consideration of Japanese susceptibilities." And then this same paper later, when it suited its purposes after a turn of events, turned to accusing the Roosevelt administration of unpreparedness at the time of the Pearl Harbor disaster!

When the *Tribune* clamors about freedom of the press in this country, one sometimes gets the impression that it is alleging itself to be the only vigorous champion of that precious right, in spite of the fact that its own existence in wartime is the best proof of how amazingly press freedom has persisted throughout the emergency. "In a crisis it is sometimes advisable, if not indeed essential, that publicity and dissent be suppressed. We by no means assert that either freedom of speech or of the press is without limits." These are strong words, but they are those of the *Tribune* when it defended Mussolini's suppression of press freedom in Italy in 1926.

When the *Tribune* disagrees with anybody for one reason or another, it has a regular and well-established technique for handling the matter. The recalcitrant is first called a "Red." Then he is reviled and scorned, belabored and vilified and misinterpreted. Today the memory of Jane Addams, founder of Hull-House, is revered by Chicago, as she was in life by almost all Chicago and the greater part of the civilized world. And yet this great woman was maligned and traduced in column after column of *Tribune* type. She had founded Hull-House, a social service center of inestimable value, and that made her a "Red." Not until after she was dead did the *Tribune* discover "a gracious lady, one of the great women of all time." (Was the real reason for her being called a

“Red” that she was at one time a member of the School Board and that as such she fought the *Tribune*’s acquisition of a property from the Board at what she considered to be a ridiculously low price?)

The people whom the *Tribune* values in public life are even more startling than those it rejects. When a certain Mrs. Dilling—later indicted for sedition—wrote a book called *The Red Network*, the publisher of the *Tribune* stated on its cover: “I am glad to have it for reference, and trust that the book will have a large sale so that Americans may know the enemy within our gates.” Some of the “Reds” or “Radicals” in this ridiculous book were Charles Evans Hughes, Harold Swift (chairman of the Board, University of Chicago, and of Swift and Company), Newton D. Baker, William Allen White, Mahatma Gandhi, Chief Justice Stone, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, many others, and, of course, President and Mrs. Roosevelt. This sort of thing would naturally be ludicrous if it did not reflect the mind of a publisher who has the power to permeate with this type of thinking a newspaper of very large circulation.

The *Tribune*’s prejudice against, and fear of, the Soviet Union came out perpetually in a long series of articles designed to whip up public opinion against that country and to make impossible any collaboration with the Russians in efforts toward peace in Europe. As any authority on the Soviet Union knows, an intelligent survey of that country could have shown plenty of grounds for legitimate criticism. But instead, in 1929, story by story in the *Tribune* demonstrated that the Russians are cruel to animals, that they are heavy drinkers and

smokers, that they have changed from dreamers into cynics, that Soviet taxes are high, that their women do not wear underwear, that Russians beat their wives and eat human flesh, that Russian Jews are still their own masters, that Russian winters are cold, and that Russians are going to revolt—and soon.

The Anglophobia of the *Tribune* publisher is well known, and the paper is consequently full of stories designed to make Americans believe that the British Commonwealth is slacking in the war, that it is profiting unduly from every transaction with this country, and that the British people are led by an ineffectual pack of lords and ladies who wear their coronets at all times and exploit the people. Obviously there are many things for which the British can be criticized, and our interest differs from theirs at recognizable points. But there is a large population in the Middle West which believes that peace and co-operation between the two nations are essential to a constructive view of the world's future.

The *Tribune's* relationships with the Roosevelt administration, now upon such a fiery basis so far as the *Tribune* is concerned, started out very differently. Its only objection editorially to President Roosevelt, when he was first elected in 1932, was that he was not "a strong man, a champion to defend the people from the extortions and reckless vagaries of Congress," but that he was otherwise an honest and capable person. (At that time the *Tribune* was particularly engrossed in its perennial crusade against high income taxes.)

Reasonable friendliness toward President Roosevelt continued in the *Tribune* until October, 1933, when it



was found that the forty-hour week should apply to newspapers just as it did to any other business. The *Tribune* shrieked that this imperiled freedom of the press—just how, it was never adequately explained. When President Roosevelt the next month recognized the Soviet Union, the *Tribune* began to belabor him as a “Red.” By 1936 the campaign tactics were as follows: From October 3 to election day, one month, there were fifty front-page columns distorted in favor of Landon or the Republican ticket and only one column that treated Roosevelt’s candidacy without bias or distortion. In addition to this, the front page carried an editorial smear, set two columns wide almost every day, with the usual page-one political cartoon. A series of articles that appeared at this time even began with one headed, “Records Show Roosevelt Aim: A Revolution.”

These are evidences of “fairness”—of a spirit of “trusteeship” for the “people’s right of freedom of the press”—in a paper holding a monopoly for many years in Chicago’s morning field. Is it any wonder, then, that from time to time, over a considerable period, groups of Chicago citizens approached me in person and in writing, indicating their desire for a morning newspaper which would represent opinions, and report news, in a very different manner from the *Tribune*? The reason for their coming to me may have been, in part, the knowledge that I would have the necessary resources to enter the field in a large enough way to assure every possibility of success. The fact that such expressions reflected the desires of a large section of the population has been amply borne out.

In launching the *Sun* in December, 1941, its staff had as its ambition the creation for Chicago of, as nearly as possible, a model morning newspaper representative of the finest traditions of American journalism. A statement was agreed upon, entitled, "The Obligation of the Press: A Statement of Policy from Chicago's New Morning Newspaper," and it was published as an advertisement in the Chicago afternoon press in order to give a frank outline of the paper's position. This was done for the benefit of potential subscribers and advertisers. It formulates so well my own philosophy of newspaper publication that I reproduce a part of it here:

*A newspaper—any newspaper—can influence thought and action, sway public opinion. It can breed prejudice or nurture tolerance, instill fear and hatred or foster courage and understanding.*

*Awareness of this power of the press imposes upon the publisher of any newspaper, particularly in these times, an obligation without parallel in the history of publishing.*

*While we accept this obligation in the deepest sense of humility, we face it courageously, believing in the rightness of our guiding policies.*

*This will be a completely objective newspaper—which simply means securing and presenting the facts as they are, unbiased by prejudice or temperament.*

*This newspaper will bow frankly to the inviolate privilege of the citizen to make up his or her own mind, believing that the average American is fully capable of doing so, if given the facts and the news of the day.*

*Editorially, this newspaper will be independent, progressive, liberal and dedicated to the maintenance of the American*

*form of constitutional, democratic government, and for the preservation of the democracies of the world. It will agree, where it finds agreement, with the policies and actions of any administration. It will disagree where it does not. It will not wear the colors of party.*

*In short, believing that journalism is a public service, aware of the rights and ability of people to think for themselves, conscious of its true obligation as an instrument of powerful influence in the community and the nation, the staff of your new Chicago morning newspaper commit themselves to the important task ahead, and promise you unbiased reporting of the news of your city and the world.*

In addition to this general statement of our thoughts concerning the proper role of a daily newspaper in twentieth-century United States, I cannot better express the *Sun's* more specific wartime and postwar objectives than by quoting from a recent lead editorial entitled, "Our Platform for Postwar America." This editorial, published in June, 1944, contains these six planks:

- 1. Democracy cannot survive on an insecure economic foundation. We hold it the duty of government to take those steps which will enable business enterprise to maintain consistently high levels of employment and production. To this end we favor broad and comprehensive social insurance, to provide a minimum income for all. To this end we favor tax and wage policies which will progressively raise the living standards and purchasing power of low-income groups. To this end we favor planned and timed public investment to offset cyclical fluctuations in employment.*

- 2. Free enterprise is not anarchic or irresponsible enter-*

*prise. While we favor tax and fiscal policies to provide the maximum incentive for private investment in a society organized for the general welfare, we also favor public protection of consumers and small business from the unrestrained ambitions of big business. Where competition best serves the general welfare, we advocate consistent regulation or abolition of monopolistic practices. In areas of natural monopoly, we favor strong government regulation, and, where that fails to protect the people's interest, public ownership and operation.*

*3. To restrain the excesses of the profit system and meet responsibilities which that system fails to discharge, we favor public enterprise for these purposes: to provide basic utility services at the lowest possible real cost; to develop and conserve resources which belong of right to the people; to make available to all groups of the population decent, modern housing; to secure minimum standards of nutrition and medical care for all.*

*4. The ruling principle of our national life must be full utilization of our human, natural and material resources. We favor full recognition, in fact and in law, of the worker's right to organize and bargain collectively, coupled with a recognition of labor's responsibility to foster maximum production. We favor publicly aided agricultural co-operation directed toward abundant output, an adequate national diet, and improvement of the small farmer's living standards. We advocate encouragement for the co-operative efforts of consumers to reduce distribution costs.*

*5. Full democratic rights and responsibilities must be rapidly extended to all Americans irrespective of race or color and unqualified by economic limitations. We oppose racial or religious discrimination in all its forms.*

6. *The future of America is indissolubly linked with the future of the world. Therefore we advocate progressive reduction of tariffs and other barriers to world trade; positive participation in international efforts to develop "backward" areas; and dedication to a greater production and just distribution of the world's goods—all within the framework of enduring and meaningful membership in a strong world peace organization.*

With the best will in the world, it is not possible to gather together immediately a group of men and women of whom teamwork can be expected. Personalities will clash, and some will be found unsuited to work with the rest even though they are capable craftsmen. Until after this adjustive and adaptive process, no new newspaper can possibly acquire a character or personality of its own or make that desired first impression upon a new reader that is likely to produce a steady subscriber.

The *Sun* necessarily took on its character gradually, and it has gradually gained the confidence of a growing public—confidence in its honesty of purpose, its accuracy, and its fairness. Naturally, all readers will never agree with all editorial policies, but those policies of the *Sun* are arrived at by a meeting of minds of the whole editorial-page staff at a thorough discussion every day, with due consideration of public interests and needs. The *Sun's* policies are therefore more likely to represent progress for the people than are those arrived at under the complete domination of one man.

There would naturally be little possibility of consistent thinking and a constructive editorial policy if the individuals forming the staff of the *Sun* had not

come to be in basic agreement on fundamentals and purposes. But the *Sun* is not the supporter of any clique or organization as such, nor is it tied to any political party in a permanent sense even though it happens that it has in general been on the side of the policies for which the Roosevelt administration has stood.

The quality of the *Sun*'s staff and of their products has been recognized in a great many ways—ways that dramatically demonstrate the extent to which the *Sun* is something new and vital in the life of the Middle West and of the nation. These recognitions have included awards to the paper and staff members in the editorial, photographic, advertising, and typographical fields.

But a newspaper cannot be measured only in terms of the excellence of staff members; it must be judged in terms in which their ability to function as a team are apparent. One of the best of these ways is to view some of the integrated news, feature, editorial, and cartoon campaigns in which the *Sun* has engaged. Some of these have been successful. Others are continuing, signaled along the way by many gains as well as by constant determination.

The first and greatest concern of the *Sun* has, of course, been anything and everything related to winning of war without forgetting war's purposes. Some editors have found it easy to pander to petty discontents with rationing, the draft, price freezing, and the maintenance of wage levels, but the *Sun* regarded such a course as irresponsible if not treasonable at such a time. The *Sun* has taken the position that, to win this tragic but necessary war, certain sacrifices of individual-

ism for the duration, certain types of wartime controls, are necessary. The staff has therefore bent its every effort toward the maintenance of as much price control as possible and of the "Little-Steel formula" for wages, as wartime safeguards against inflation. It has also fought for a realistic tax program and for a real soldier vote law, the latter an issue it took up long before the matter became a hot subject in Congress.

The *Sun* has endeavored to present accurate and comprehensive reports from the fighting fronts, together with clear interpretations of the meaning of such dispatches. It has also tried to do all it can to eliminate abuses at home, to fight profiteering, and to assure our armed forces of as great aid as possible from American factories, farms, and mines.

Typical of this wartime attitude has been the *Sun's* position on labor disputes. As a matter of fact, as one would expect from a paper with a scrupulously objective labor policy, its attitude has not been regarded as too satisfactory either by management diehards or by union extremists. In the case of a serious altercation between Sewell Avery of Montgomery Ward and his employees, the *Sun* interpreted Avery's provocative tactics as efforts to break down the authority of the only existing agency for the settlement of such disputes, the War Labor Board. Avery did what he could to impede necessary legal processes and to melodramatize himself as being "persecuted" by the government. But, as a *Sun* editorialist put it, he and shortsighted business leaders generally used this event, as they have many other incidents of the kind, to attempt to discredit the federal administration.



In saying this, I do not mean to suggest that the *Sun* has found the War Labor Board perfect by any means. In fact, it has often criticized it. But the breakdown of its authority would have brought a chaotic condition in war production. On the union side, on the other hand, when a strike of Illinois telephone workers and a strike of milk-wagon drivers threatened, the *Sun* sided against the hotheads in the unions. The *Sun* has also demanded a modern building code for Chicago, something the building trades unions believe interferes with their vested interests.

Adequate and fair reporting of everything of interest to labor and labor unions is regarded by the *Sun* as a primary obligation. This in part offsets the continual emphasis in other papers upon strikes without reporting the reasons for them. The *Sun* tries to prod into the situations behind strikes and also to report the magnificent contributions of labor to the war and to our national welfare generally.

On longer-term domestic fronts the *Sun* has given constant concern to improved race relations, to federal control of insurance, to transit, to housing, and to better public schools.

Early in the paper's history, staff members were assigned to investigate transit in a strictly factual and unbiased manner. This was obviously a situation where little or no unbiased thinking was being done. All we knew was that an antiquated system, slow and poorly planned, was costing the people of Chicago a great deal in time, comfort, and real estate values. Vested interests in securities and legal and reorganization fees were all a part of the nebulous situation. The resulting campaign,



still in progress, was based squarely upon the staff's findings and upon its conception of public welfare. Its resulting plea for the public ownership of our transit system was, therefore, regarded as well based and has obtained many adherents. Even though that policy is as yet unfulfilled, it looks as though definite strides are being made toward its accomplishment, an eventuality most Chicago civic leaders had despaired of for many years.

The *Sun's* stand on the housing situation, under continual fire from shortsighted real estate interests, is similar. It is struggling vigorously for both slum clearance and public housing. The *Sun's* arousing of public opinion on these projects may have encouraged Mayor Kelly's firm stand on the value of public control and operation of housing for limited-income groups and helped to strengthen the position of the Chicago Housing Authority. Among other specific projects, the *Sun* can claim to have been influential in defeating the real estate lobby's attempt in the state legislature to deny tax exemption to public housing projects.

The *Sun* has fought for legislation in the state, and nationally, for the penny-milk and school-lunch programs, which have done so much for underprivileged children. In the race relations field it utters not merely abstract homilies on human decency but is attempting to be very specific and direct. It has demanded the accountability of policemen for acts of brutality against Negroes. It has fought for expanded war housing for Negro war workers. It has supported the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, has tried to give the news of Negro contributions to the war both as combatants and

as industrial workers, and is continuously campaigning for the maintenance and strengthening of the federal Fair Employment Practices Committee.

These are the things upon which the team converges and toward which it carries the ball. These campaigns give some small impression of the dynamics of what we all hope is becoming a great morning newspaper. The fact that they are also things in which the people of Chicago have a deep interest and of which they approve is shown in the steady rise of the *Sun*'s circulation in spite of limitations imposed upon the paper's press run by stringent wartime newsprint restrictions. That advertisers also understand what is taking place, that they realize the "pulling power" of a popular and representative daily newspaper, even though some may differ with its editorial policies, is also abundantly evidenced by the mounting demand for *Sun* advertising space, even though the satisfaction of this demand has had to be held in constant check because of the necessity for giving priority to full news coverage.

It has been asked why I did not follow in Chicago a pattern similar to that of *PM* in New York, at least to the extent of foregoing advertising revenue. But the *Sun* had to compete with an entrenched paper selling for only two cents. The *Tribune* also consisted of a great many pages, with enticing comic strips and other circulation inducements. All of this seemed to rule out the idea of a really effective circulation at a price high enough to warrant adless operation. Furthermore, as any readership survey clearly demonstrates, advertisements have a large readership interest.

In discussing *PM*, I mentioned the great difficulties any newspaper is likely to encounter in making its circulation arrangements. The *Sun* also ran into most of these possible circulation difficulties, in spite of the tremendous potential support that existed in the city. Fortunately, public opinion and the administration of the city were such that the kind of lawlessness marking circulation wars there in other times was not tolerated.

Like many other papers, the *Tribune* depends largely on comics, amusement features, and sports for its reader acceptance. I know that a great many of its readers disagree most heartily with its editorial policies. They are aware of the paper's shameless distortion of its news items to suit the peculiar mental slant of its publisher. But the public has been fed a tremendous volume of amusements as circulation bait, with news and editorial opinions trailing along as somewhat subsidiary side lines.

These entertainment items are protected by copyright and are sold, for the most part, on an exclusive basis to one paper in each area, and it is only human that people addicted to them should find them hard to dispense with. They become a habit. Their characters become practically members of their followers' immediate social group. And any competitor must reckon with the reluctance of people to break any habit and especially a pleasant one. The new competitor thus is forced to try to provide his readers with as nearly comparable entertainment as possible, in addition to more accurate and representative news and views, or the latter may not reach an appreciable audience.

This is not an easy task. As we have seen, very few

of the cities of the country have more than two daily papers; a vast number have but one; and this restricts the number of well-supported features. In addition, Chicago had three evening dailies as well as the morning monopoly before the *Sun* appeared, and each of these had pre-empted as many of the outstanding features as possible. The *Sun* thus was faced, among its other problems, with the job of creating enough new features to piece out the few good ones that were available, to a point of quality and quantity sufficient to meet competition. The creation of features, incidentally, takes both time and considerable genius. While the best of sports writers were readily found who were sympathetic to the ideas of a new newspaper, it has taken the *Sun* nearly three years to gather together a set of comics that the public has accepted and can enjoy.

Another problem that such a new paper as the *Sun* had to solve was that presented by pictures, especially pictures of world and national events. Modern photography and reproduction processes have reached a stage at which the public is vitally interested in seeing photographs in its newspapers, especially photographs taken of actual events, so that the affairs of the world will seem more immediate and real to them. So often a photograph can tell a story much more vividly than columns of words—but one has to get the photograph, and this was something made abnormally expensive to the *Sun* by the nature of the rigidly pro-monopolistic setup that existed.

It is obviously impossible for one newspaper to have photographers stationed in enough places even to begin to cover events that may happen anywhere, any mo-

ment. So here, as in other spheres, newspaper interests have formed co-operative and commercial service agencies. The large ones, with more or less universal coverage, are Associated Press (AP) Wirephoto, Wide World (owned by AP), Acme, connected with United Press Associations (UP), and International News Service (INS, owned by the Hearst interests). The *Sun*, being denied AP and unable to get INS because of a Hearst paper in Chicago, was originally denied Acme as well, because of an exclusive contract the *Tribune* had with it.

After the institution of the antitrust case against the AP, described in the next chapter, Acme obtained a release from the *Tribune*, and the *Sun* now enjoys this service. According to the Tribune Company and McCormick, defendants in that suit, they "hoped to forestall the then threatened attack upon the Tribune Company's valuable interest as a member of the AP by the relinquishing of their less valuable exclusive rights to Acme newspictures service."

Since the beginning of the war, in addition, the Army and the Navy have supplied very fine pictures, which they have distributed to all newspapers. Foreign services—the British combine, Sovphoto, and the rest—have always been open to any newspaper willing to pay their usual fees.

During the first few months of the *Sun*, however, it was necessary, when a bridge was washed away, or an elephant got loose from a circus, or Churchill spoke in Canada, for the *Sun* to make use of airplanes, its own photographers, and its own wirephoto sets to provide the pictures its readers were entitled to see, and which

in other papers were supplied to them as a matter of course by the large picture services. And the latter, it is well to emphasize, did this at considerably less expense to the individual newspapers served.

I go into these difficulties at considerable length to give an appreciation of some of the factors with which a newspaper has to contend as it begins to struggle against an intrenched competitor.

But these are matters of arrangements—chiefly of relationships with other units of the daily newspaper industry. More importantly, it should be realized, a daily newspaper is made by a team, and this is a large team which must do the news-gathering, editing, printing, and distribution jobs smoothly and accurately and with great speed. To a surprising degree, despite hardships, the *Sun* staff is such an organization, and it is a staff united in the belief that “journalism is a public service, aware of the rights and ability of the people to think for themselves, conscious of its true obligation . . . . in the community and the nation.” With a staff holding such a credo, the *Sun* should continue to make ever increasing contributions to the welfare of the crucial area it serves.

## THE AP CASE

**M**CCORMICKISM gave a great opportunity to the *Sun* as a people's morning daily. But on many fronts McCormick and other representatives of press monopolies had erected barriers against competition both in Chicago and in the vast majority of other cities throughout the United States. These obstacles were not impossible to surmount, but they made for delays, difficulties, and disproportionate expense.

Of these barriers, I have already mentioned certain exclusive circulation and photographic arrangements, and to these must be added news-gathering: local, national, and international. McCormick's "right of protest" (in effect, a qualified veto of competing membership) as a member of the Associated Press and his influence as a stockholder in a city news-gathering combine, the City News Bureau of Chicago, barred the *Sun* from the services of both organizations. As a result, the *Sun* had to arrange substitutes for both these services, and it did so at a considerable expense.

To be factual, the *Sun* gained an advantage by having to improvise its own news-gathering system for Chicago and vicinity. It gained in the alertness of its reporters, in the vividness of their reports, and in the ability of its staff to arrange coverage. But the struggle to get adequate national and world-wide news-gathering services and pictures for the *Sun* was a different matter. It informed me most vividly of the monopolistic potentialities of the AP.

The AP is a world-wide news-gathering association which is sometimes called "one of the world's largest co-operatives." It functions to preserve vested newspaper interests and to aid in the promotion of local daily newspaper monopolies. Because of the importance of the *Sun*'s struggle with the AP to Americans everywhere who want to halt the limitation of actual press freedom, I am going to recount our experiences in this controversy in some detail.

Silliman Evans, publisher of a very successful and liberal daily newspaper, the *Nashville Tennessean*, collaborated with me in the establishment of the *Sun*. He and I began, several months before we got the *Sun* under way on December 4, 1941, to discuss the problems of assembling a staff, obtaining news and photographic facilities, and working out other details connected with the organization of a metropolitan daily. At that time we naturally discussed the importance of the news and photographic services of the AP to our projected paper, and we began to canvass the possibilities of obtaining an AP membership by applying therefor or by purchasing the morning AP membership of the *Chicago Herald-American*, a Hearst paper.



Efforts to buy Hearst's *Herald-American* membership came to nothing, even though the membership was only being used on Sunday mornings in other than a token sense. For reasons that are not clear to me, the Hearst organization decided to keep the membership for its own purposes even though it had given up the publication of a daily morning paper in Chicago.

It is hardly necessary to recount here all the steps through which Evans and I went in our efforts to obtain the services of the AP before we had recourse to legal steps. Lloyd Stratton, assistant secretary of the AP, finally wrote to me on October 2, 1941, that the *Sun's* application had been laid before the board of directors, that membership interests of other Chicago members were involved, and that, since they had not waived their protest rights, my application for the *Sun* must, under the by-laws, be referred to the next annual meeting of the members of the AP to be held in New York the following April.

This was a disturbing delay, though not the last one, and I shall now fill in a little more of the background of the situation in order to explain how such an important quasi-public institution as the AP can undertake to deny membership to a new daily and thereby attempt to maintain its members as an exclusive and privileged class, subject only to its own rules.

The AP is a nonprofit association of newspaper owners, incorporated in 1900 under the membership corporations law of the state of New York. It is a successor to other similar bodies dating from the original AP formed by upstate New York publishers in 1846 and another organized by New York City editor-publishers

in 1848. AP started and grew with the magnetic telegraph as a means of sharing news gathered by members and of allotting the costs of larger news-gathering ventures equitably among the membership.

From such beginnings, the AP grew to a point where today it comprises "a staff of 7,200, augmented by the staffs of member newspapers and affiliated news services in foreign countries . . . . a total of approximately 100,000 men and women contributing, directly or indirectly, to each day's effort . . . . a staff many times larger than the staffs of all other American news agencies combined." It also claims the following:

*a news report of 1,000,000 words every 24 hours . . . .  
larger than the combined daily reports of all other American  
news agencies combined . . . .*

*290,000 miles of leased news wires in this country alone  
. . . . a network larger than the networks of all other American  
news agencies combined*

*operating the only state-by-state news circuits in existence  
. . . . circuits that carry more state and regional news daily  
than all other American news agencies combined*

*100 news bureaus in this country alone . . . . offices in more  
than 250 cities over the world . . . . more regularly estab-  
lished news connections by cities than all other American  
news agencies combined*

*an annual budget of approximately \$12,000,000 . . . .  
every penny spent for the actual gathering and distribution  
of world news . . . . a news budget larger than the news  
budgets of all other American news agencies combined*

*leased news wires connecting 727 domestic cities . . . . a larger representation of cities than all other American news agencies combined*

This is the news-gathering machine that forces new competitors of its members to make complicated and expensive private arrangements to compete with it. This is the machine that has helped powerfully to bring about the consistent trend toward local daily newspaper monopolies outlined in the second chapter of this book.

The AP achieves such tremendous news-gathering proportions through what is in effect a pooling of the staffs of its members' papers. According to the by-laws of the AP, both the papers of members *and staff personnel as individuals* are bound to make their news available to AP and are restricted from giving it to other papers. How this works out can be best indicated by assuming the outbreak of a spectacular fire in a city containing two AP dailies, one morning and the other evening. For its coverage of the fire, the AP would have as much of the combined staffs of the two papers as would be necessary, plus any of its own local staff members whom it might have on the spot. A commercial news-gathering agency, on the contrary—such as UP—would have only its own local part- and full-time reporters, plus whatever additional staff it might be able to rush in from near-by centers. This might well give the AP a ratio of two or even ten to one in the reporter-power available for an important assignment. When one thinks of this in terms of the differential between the country-wide facilities of an AP paper and a non-AP paper competing in the same city, the potential ratio of advantage for the AP paper becomes fantastically great.

Several incidents in the history of the AP are instructive and even, I might say, prophetic. In the succession of organizations bearing the name "Associated Press," one was incorporated in 1892 under the laws of the state of Illinois, with by-laws that gave its "A" members—the "insiders"—the right to veto any application for membership from their own city or from such additional territory as was indicated in their membership contract. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* violated one of the by-laws of the AP and sued to prevent the AP from withdrawing its services. In that litigation the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1900 rendered a very significant decision. According to a report of the AP board, this decision held "the business of the Associated Press has become so impressed with a public interest that it becomes our duty to admit to membership any newspaper applying, and that the rule enforced for many years . . . . providing for an alliance, offensive and defensive, between membership and association, was void and in restraint of trade."

In other words, the Supreme Court of Illinois saw clearly in 1900 the kind of combine for the maintenance of special privileges that this alleged servant of a "free press" had by that time become. The court held that the public interest required the granting of full membership to any newspaper applying.

If those in control of the AP of Illinois had taken this decision as the sound statement of public policy that it obviously is, they would not have labored to construct an instrument—the AP that replaced the one of Illinois—which has helped materially to throttle competition in news dissemination in this country. I refer to the

AP of New York, which was organized in New York after the Illinois Supreme Court had made the decision and which, according to the president of the Illinois corporation, was organized to evade the consequences of the Illinois decision. As he put it, the AP of New York had “undertaken to admit all members of the Illinois corporation with rights and privileges as nearly as practicable exactly the same as those they now enjoy.” The board of directors of the AP of Illinois went through the formality of recommending amendments to the by-laws which would have brought them into conformity with the decision of the court of last resort in that state, but the amendments were not adopted. Instead, the stockholders decided to liquidate the Illinois corporation and to reincorporate under the membership corporations law of the state of New York—the law under which private clubs are incorporated.

This *reorganization* of 1900, to give this change of base its proper label if not its legal designation, thus succeeded in restoring and perpetuating for more than four decades the monopolistic character of this instrument of communication. In 1903 Melville E. Stone, then and for a long time general manager of the AP, spoke frankly of “the road to monopoly that we are trying to travel.”

The Associated Press has made a great deal of the fact that the United States Attorney-General ruled in 1915 that the organization did not at that time violate antitrust laws, but in view of the decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois and other considerations, such an administrative officer’s opinion now carries little judicial weight. In the first place, the opinion expressed

doubt as to whether the transmission of news constituted interstate commerce, but this doubt has since been resolved by the explicit finding of the Supreme Court of the United States that the AP is engaged in interstate commerce. It is also to be remembered that the attitude of the legal-minded was then much more protective of vested prerogatives than it now is, especially in the federal courts. The Attorney-General's ruling was merely helpful in postponing for almost three decades efforts to correct the abuses of AP.

The United States Supreme Court took opportunities in 1918 and 1937 to rule on some matters relating to the public role of the AP. In 1918 the AP's case against International News Service (INS), the Hearst news-gathering agency, came before that court on appeal. In this instance, the Court sustained an injunction of a lower court that required INS not to take news from AP domestic newspapers while that news was still fresh. This decision did not establish, however, a doctrine of an actual property right in news but rather a quasi-property right that grew out of protection against alleged unfair competition.

In dissenting from this decision, the late Justice Brandeis raised some very significant points—points still awaiting adjudication. He thought that if there was to be a rule of property rights in news, any such rule should be established by Congress and not through judge-made law. And he sagely added to this that “news should be protected against appropriation only if the gatherer assumed the obligation of supplying it at reasonable rates and without discrimination to all papers which applied therefor.”

The Supreme Court took a major step in 1937 that is of the greatest significance. In a case arising out of the National Labor Relations Act, it said that the "business of the Associated Press is not immune from regulation because it is an agency of the press," and it thus established federal jurisdiction over problems arising in connection with possible violations of sound public policy by the AP. The Court mentioned specifically that "the publisher of a newspaper has no special immunity from the application of general laws. He has no special privilege to invade the rights and liberties of others. He must answer for libel. He may be punished for contempt of court. He is subject to the antitrust laws. Like others he must pay equitable and nondiscriminatory taxes on his business." The reference to antitrust laws was especially interesting and should have been remembered by editorialists a few years later when they were condemning the Department of Justice for its AP proceedings.

The principle of exclusiveness, as well as the principle of co-operative service, has always been a feature of the AP setup. Whenever a new daily applied for membership in the AP from a town or district where no AP member had theretofore existed, the chances were that the newcomer would be welcomed. As a matter of fact, the AP has even campaigned for more such members. A paper of this sort is taken in because it in effect turns a liability into an asset; it turns a town in which the AP had to get the news for hire into a town in which a member-paper will be obliged to furnish news to the organization. Whether or not a town is thus thrown open to new members depends not only upon the existing member or members in that town but also upon



whether the town lies in the "protest" (exclusive) area given to an AP member of another town. Kent Cooper of the AP summed up this policy in 1933: "We have sought to increase the membership in fields where the recruiting would not infringe upon the home territories of existing members, that the costs might be more widely proportioned."

Whenever a new daily—such as the *Sun*—applies for membership in the AP from a town or city which already has at least one established daily in its field (morning or evening), the situation is very different. If the existing paper or papers do not agree to waive their "rights," the matter has to go before the entire membership of the AP; and it used to require a four-fifths majority to override the vested interests of the protesting member or members. This was a substantial guaranty that the established privilege would remain intact.

This right of exclusion is such a focal point in the monopoly nature of the AP that the story of its evolution is instructive. Before the AP of Illinois was dissolved in 1900, holders of its "A" memberships—the insiders—could veto the admission of any new member in the city in which such a member's newspaper was published and in surrounding territory to the extent indicated in the member's contract. When the AP became a private club under the New York membership corporations law, this veto power was transmuted into something called "protest rights" and was conferred upon the insiders once again—in this case upon 278 of the 603 original members of the AP of New York. In more than a hundred instances such protest rights extended to a radius of 60 miles and in one to 150 miles.



In 1928, protest rights were extended to the entire AP membership. The by-laws conferring this extension of the rights provided that every member should, in addition to whatever previous rights he had and after membership of five years, have a right of protest against election of a member representing a paper published in the same city and in the same "field," in other words, in the same morning or evening time period. In commenting upon this development, Victor Rosewater, an experienced newspaper executive, observes in his *History of Co-operative News-gathering*: "The trend in the arena of American journalism has been to consolidation and extermination, and to a diminishing number of dailies, a trend whose continuance this tighter shutting of the door to Associated Press service must further and stimulate." From 1929 to 1941 only four applications involving protest rights were submitted to a vote of the members—some index of how discouraging the situation looked—and, of these applicants, all failed of election.

By the time that I was applying for an AP membership in behalf of the *Sun* in 1941, therefore, the AP had established its members as a privileged class, with tremendous power and exclusiveness. Through this agency, papers with 95.5 per cent of the morning daily newspaper circulation in the country had committed themselves to the pooling of their news-gathering resources internationally and domestically, had effectively prevented their competitors from having access to the news so gathered, and had worked out a program which was intended to prevent their reporters and photographers from doing even part-time work for a competing

paper or agency. In addition, the AP had cartel arrangements with certain foreign news-gathering agencies, such as Canadian Press. The AP had thus closed the door very tightly.

On the eve of the launching of the *Sun* and because of the delay which threatened, I again wrote to the AP as follows:

“In view of the fact that I propose to begin publication of the new paper within the next few weeks, such a delay entails the most serious consequences. To begin publication and to seek the support of the public without the benefit of Associated Press facilities is perhaps to risk the entire future of the enterprise, since the initial reader reaction to a newspaper may well be determinative of its situation over a long period. Moreover, when I announced the publication of this paper, I led the people of Chicago to believe that it would be in all respects a standard and complete newspaper; my performance cannot and must not fall short of my promise. Finally, the postponement of action on the application until April, 1942, may well constitute more than a postponement; there is no assurance under your by-laws, as I understand them, that I will be elected to membership at that time and consequently I cannot at the outset or at any time assure my readers that in due course the paper will have the benefit of all the standard press services available to other papers. It is these factors, among others, which have been causing me such grave concern.”

When we set out to synthesize the kind of news and picture services the AP might have furnished us, as it then became necessary, we found many other disturb-

ing factors. Other news-gathering services—United Press Association (UP), Transradio Press (TRP), and Reuters, in particular—were available. International News Service (INS) was not available because of exclusive arrangements with Hearst's *Herald-American*. It became necessary for us to utilize quite a list of such services, and other supplementary ones, in order to give our subscribers the superior product the *Sun* had to be. Obviously this meant a far greater outlay—an uneconomically higher outlay—than would have been necessary had AP been available.

We discovered, at this time, that the AP control over local reporters and photographers was very real and all too inclusive. As a result, the charges paid by the *Sun* in the single year of 1942 for news and pictures were rather staggering. It paid the UP under contract within a few dollars of \$110,000. The amounts paid for photographs—not including expenses in connection with pictures made in Chicago by the *Sun* staff itself—exceeded \$63,000. Beyond these items, the *Sun* in the year 1942 alone paid for news services, extra materials, bureaus, correspondents, and other arrangements a sum in excess of \$425,000.

Some of these expenditures would have been incurred whether or not AP services had been available to the *Sun*, as part of a natural need to develop competitive advantages. But the major part of the extra expense could have been dispensed with if the *Sun* had been able to procure the services of AP, and the basic AP charge to each of two members in Chicago would be, I am informed, approximately \$50,000 a year. These cost fig-

ures, with the exception of a portion of the telegraph and cable charges, do not include any expenses of the Chicago office of the *Sun* or any general overhead expenses, nor do they take into account many less direct expenses, such as allowance for time devoted by the Chicago staff to overcoming handicaps due to absence of AP service.

A great deal of energy and imagination on the part of the staff had to be consumed in equalizing deficiencies due to our not having the coverage furnished as a matter of routine by AP to its members. The AP has, be it remembered, the advantage of the pooled staffs of all of its members' papers, in 1942 a total of 304 of the country's 373 morning papers and 887 of its 1,480 evening dailies, and the staff of each of these widely scattered papers is available—practically “on hand”—for news breaks in every sizable town and in every section of the United States, with affiliated agencies taking up the burden in foreign countries. UP coverage is excellent in wartime and, also at other times, in major news centers throughout the world. Furthermore, because it is a commercial agency competing with such a huge cooperative, it has had aggressive and imaginative leadership. But its staff facilities, particularly in the morning field, naturally cannot approach those of the pooled staffs of the AP and its members.

These problems threw extra burdens upon the *Sun's* sports, financial, national domestic news, regional news, and news pictures departments. The necessary diversion of time and energy, as well as the expenditure of large additional sums of money, which resulted from our inability to obtain AP service, were among the obstacles

we had to overcome in providing Chicago with a first-class morning newspaper.

When I found, after trying all other possible courses, that I could get no assurances of membership in the AP either by vote or by purchase, and that I could not even contract to purchase AP service as a nonmember, I finally filed a complaint with the Attorney-General of the United States dated February 5, 1942, two months after the launching of the *Sun*. My contention was that the AP functions as a monopoly in restraint of newspaper competition. In response to my complaint and to others, the United States Department of Justice brought a civil action against the AP and others on August 28, 1942.

The reaction of the overwhelming majority of the daily press that greeted my complaint and the government's suit can only be compared to one of the quadrennial attempts of the daily newspaper industry in general to "save the Republic" from another term of President Roosevelt. These blasts proved, better than anything else in recent times, the unanimity with which the dailies of the country—with but few dissenting—will create a united front to support a vested privilege, many times regardless of public interest.

Completely forgetting its sense of humor and the many previous times it has uttered the same glum warning in the last forty years, *Editor & Publisher* as the leading trade journal of the dailies summed up their position by orating, "It is one of the most momentous crises in the history of journalism." And the Associated Press offered adequate documentary evidence of this myopia by reproducing two huge volumes of edi-

torials that reiterated over and over again this and other lame theories I shall mention. The *Cincinnati Enquirer*, in an editorial typical of many, sounded off that the "government's remarkable suit against the Associated Press, on the grounds of monopoly, is a threat to the freedom of the press itself."

The *Milwaukee Journal* earlier, in 1934, ran a fine editorial commenting on this sort of thing. It referred specifically to the storm over efforts to introduce decent working conditions into daily newspaper plants through a code under the National Industrial Recovery Act. The American Society of Newspaper Editors had characterized the rumpus as "a memorable battle and glorious victory," but the *Journal* editorialist put it this way:

"The Society has not placed the press of America in an enviable light by trying to bolster the farcical behavior of a few Tory-minded publishers. In fact, the whole shameful affair may have done the press incalculable harm. It is not impossible that as the struggle against adverse economic conditions develops, America may find itself forced to pattern its government more closely after the dictatorships into which European nations have been thrust. Then, indeed, might there be an issue of freedom of the press to carry to the people. Then, indeed, might the press need the support of the public. And then would the people, deceived, as they have been, by the cry of 'Wolf! Wolf!' respond?"

The continued single-minded practices of presenting only the newspapers' own side in controversies, and that at great length, of overtrying their selfish battles in their own columns, of distorting and perverting arguments and facts on the other side or sides—these prac-

tices have convinced all too many Americans that freedom of the press is no longer the right of the people or a right exercised in their behalf in hundreds of the country's cities. They regard it more and more as something that has been taken from them by a special-interest group—a group that demonstrates continually decreasing responsibility to its subscribers.

In this, as in so many other cases, the dailies tried to melodramatize their defense, not as one in support of monopolies throttling freedom of the press, the actual situation, but as an effort by the federal government to browbeat and even to censor the press. And they continued such allegations notwithstanding the fact that the Department of Justice made it very clear, throughout its presentation of the case, that any such interference by government with press freedom would be impossible under the First Amendment to the federal Constitution. If such actions and protestations were not adequate, the enlightened manner in which President Roosevelt's administration has depended upon virtual self-control rather than upon detailed governmental censorship in wartime should have been quite convincing. The *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, the Hearst press, and certain columnists have given every evidence of having no fear that their freedom to heckle the government would be actually curtailed, to judge from the continued virulence of their heckling.

Three other propaganda theories were promulgated by the country's dailies in their attacks upon the Department of Justice, the *Sun*, and myself. These were McCormick's cry of subsidy, the claim of the *Baltimore*



*Sun* and other papers that the suit would create rather than destroy a monopoly, and the contention that the AP's members were to be robbed of valuable "rights."

McCormick led off with a typical piece of mud-slinging when he stated: "Marshall Field is not a legitimate newspaperman and the *Sun* is not a legitimate newspaper. It is part of an alien and radical conspiracy against our republican form of government. It is subsidized by the government to the extent that its losses, running into millions of dollars a year, are deducted from the owner's income tax. . . . I am confident that in spite of hints that have been dropped that [*sic*] the Associated Press will get justice in the Federal courts." It got justice, in my definition of justice, but McCormick and I frequently disagree on that definition.

McCormick's reference to subsidizing presumably refers to the fact that I, in accordance with the provisions of the tax laws, have deducted from my income the losses incurred in operating the *Sun*. The taking of a deduction for business losses is a universal and accepted practice among taxpayers of the United States and, until the recent amendments of the revenue acts limited the right to take such losses, has been authorized and permitted by law. In other words, I have no more been subsidized in operating the *Sun* than has any other businessman who has taken a tax loss in consequence of unprofitable business operations. These losses are to be expected in the early days of most enterprises which have to make a place for themselves against well-established competitors.

One of the most paradoxical lines taken by editorial rationalizers against the AP suit was that stated by the



*Baltimore Sun*. "It is hard to escape the notion," this paper asserted, "that in suing the AP as a monopoly, the Justice Department really threatens to set up a monopoly where none now exists in any dictionary sense." The contention was that if the AP were forced to sell to all comers, the competing services would be driven out of business. The opinion of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, in the AP case, as written by Judge Learned Hand, covers this point explicitly.

"The argument appears to be," said that court, "that if all be allowed to join AP, it may become the only news service, and get a monopoly by driving out all others. That is perhaps a possibility, though it seems to us an exceedingly remote one; but even if it became an actuality, no public injury could result. For, if AP were open to all who wished the service, could pay for it, and were fit to use it, it would be no longer a monopoly: a monopoly of all those interested in an activity is no monopoly at all, for no one is excluded and the essence of monopoly is exclusion. AP would then be only a collective effort of the calling as a whole. If other services were incidentally driven out, that would not be an actionable wrong." As a matter of fact, a great many dailies—even among those that are monopolistic—currently subscribe to one or more news services in addition to that of the AP.

The attack of McCormick's *Chicago Tribune* on the persons involved in the case was reminiscent of the protestations of an ancient nobility when under fire from an awakened citizenry. The case, pontificated the *Tribune*, "is intended to disrupt the AP and destroy

the values, tangible and intangible, which its members have created in it." That these "values," like those accumulated by any other outworn special-privilege class, are contrary to public interest, that these "values" can be preserved only at the price of taking more and more of the actual freedom or opportunity for discussion away from the American citizenry—these considerations were not discussed in the burst of editorials from AP members and others sympathetic to press monopolies. None concerned himself with the fact that more than nine-tenths of American cities now have daily newspaper monopolies, a trend away from freedom that still continues, and that no people is going to permit itself to be stripped of its freedom without sooner or later taking some recourse.

As for my own attitude toward the over-all issues involved in the AP case, aside from any personal connection with it, I can only say that I agree heartily with Professor Chafee when he said: "Ever since Justice Brandeis' opinion [mentioned above], I have hoped that the AP would voluntarily abandon its restrictions on membership and throw its service open to all reputable newspapers that will pay the price. I still hope so, whatever the outcome of the present suit. That organization would be living up to its high traditions and rendering a notable service to the development of sound public opinion in our democracy if its members would now of their own accord do away with the existing barriers, which make it almost impossible for a new daily journal to give its readers the benefit of the magnificent achievements of the Associated Press."

Following the filing of my complaint with the Department of Justice in behalf of the *Sun*, a committee of the Associated Press proposed in 1942 further amendment of the by-laws relating to the right of protest. After considerable discussion and counterproposal, the by-laws were amended to eliminate as such the term "right of protest," to reduce the necessary approval vote from 80 per cent to a majority of the membership, and to provide compensation for loss or damage to the old member or members in the morning, evening, or Sunday field of a city which might result from the election of a new member. In addition, the applicant had to "relinquish any exclusive right that he or it may have, by contract or otherwise, to any news or news picture services that are being made available to the applicant at the time of the filing of his application for membership."

Judge Learned Hand, of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, in his opinion for the majority in this case, commented on these by-laws by saying that, "even though the by-laws were valid on their face, evidence, drawn from past practice, might be strong enough to justify the inference that they would be administered substantially as though they had not been changed."

In the opinions handed down in this court the majority concluded that "the present by-laws of AP unlawfully restrict the admission of members; and that further enforcement of them should be enjoined." It decided that "the by-law which forbids the communication of news by AP to nonmembers, and of 'spontaneous' news by members to nonmembers," is a grant of power that should not be made "to a combination which, though

bound to admit all on equal terms, does not do so.” As for the cartel with the Canadian Press, giving exclusive rights to Canadian news to AP, the court said it could see no reason why, “if admission to AP were properly liberalized, it should not make such an agreement.” On the much-vaunted free-press issue, the court noted that the “effect of our judgment will be, not to restrict AP members as to what they shall print, but only to compel them to make their dispatches accessible to others. We do not understand on what theory that compulsion can be thought relevant to this issue; the mere fact that a person is engaged in publishing, does not exempt him from ordinary municipal law, so long as he remains unfettered in his own selection of what to publish. All that we do is to prevent him from keeping that advantage for himself.”

Even the minority opinion of Judge Thomas Swan did not support the alleged fear of the AP and its stalwarts about danger to “freedom of the press.” The nearest Judge Swan came to the matter was when he raised and commented on the question, “What, then, is the ground for holding that the by-law provisions have resulted in an unreasonable restraint of trade either in news gathering or in newspaper publishing? Solely the court’s view that a news-gathering organization as large and efficient as AP is engaged in a public calling, and so under a duty to admit ‘all “qualified” applicants on equal terms.’ ” He forgot, in my estimation, that the mere plea of the efficiency of a powerful instrument does not justify its existence in a democratic country; it must also be so organized that it will not keep an essential advantage exclusively for itself.

As a matter of fact and of democratic policy, no unregulated organization in a democracy can be permitted to become so large, well organized, efficient, exclusive, and protective of the interests controlling it that it makes the creation of competing units uneconomically expensive. When organizations get to be overwhelmingly large and self-protective—whether they be news-gathering combines, medical associations, steel companies, trade-unions, or any others—they gravely threaten democratic liberties in areas of our national life and, when large and powerful enough, the whole democratic framework. As I see it, the AP is one of several factors in the daily newspaper industry that now represent such threats. Whatever contribution the *Sun* and I have made to the precipitation of this issue has been made alike in an effort to solve our own Chicago problem and to help relax one of the basic restraints against freedom in American life.

## TOWARD BETTER ACCESS TO FACTS

**I**T WILL be seen that I have attached great importance to daily newspapers in that requisite of freedom—access to facts. But there are other ways of strengthening this requisite, and I have become interested in as many of them as I can, especially in radio and in public opinion polling.

For the purpose of keeping speech free in an effective sense in this country, some tremendous responsibilities devolve upon America's radio stations as our newest major media of discussion. This is largely because they are the newest and so the least institutionalized or tradition-ridden of our communication media. In cities with daily newspaper monopolies, the cities in which the vast majority of Americans now live, radio is the only effective check upon news and views. It helps to authenticate the stuff out of which we make our first and more lasting opinions about current events. In addition, radio carries facts and ideas, as well as music and entertainment, to many people who lack either the time, the opportunity, or the mental alertness and curiosity

to learn news developments and interpretations from printed pages.

Like daily newspaper publishers, the owners and operators of radio stations are not sufficiently numerous, in any but a few localities, to avoid being faced with temptations to impose the prejudices of vested interests upon station utterances in lieu of intelligent discussion. It is expensive to buy time on the radio, and it must be the responsibility of radio management not to weight the opinions of groups in terms of their ability to purchase time. To permit the opinions of those with money to buy many hours, to be given more prominence than the opinions of those with contradictory ideas, possibly ideas with greater popular interest and worth, is to take a long step toward popular resentment and toward consequent new restrictions upon radio.

Radio-station operators, like daily newspaper publishers, have the added responsibility that, by and large, they can judge—with little fear of successful appeal from their rulings—what constitutes “fit” paid advertising or entertainment, as well as “fit” noncommercial entertainment or instruction, for their listeners. The Co-operative League of the United States discovered this in 1943 when, even though it wished to pay for its program time, shortsighted or stupid station operators who opposed consumer co-operatives refused to sell time for such a purpose. A discussion of the matter on the floor of the United States Senate changed the minds of several station owners in this case. But in many other instances such powerful intervention, to offset undemocratic practices, is not possible.

In short, the only compulsion placed upon radio-sta-

tion operators to accept a program is in the case of candidates for office of major political parties, after such candidates have actually become recognized as party standard-bearers. In this case, candidates must be given equal access to time under similar terms. Otherwise, station operators are under no direct compulsion to accept any given program, whether it carries with it the subsidy of paid advertising or is merely offered on its merits as a sustaining feature.

In spite of this relatively free situation, station operators exhibit a mental quirk that can best be labeled, I believe, a "license neurosis," because of the seriousness of this disturbance to the health of the country's radio programs. Dominating apparently all thinking about the policies of local stations and radio networks alike is a specter the actuality of which has visited only a handful of the most flagrant violators of good taste and law in the radio field. This specter is the alleged threat, presumably hanging over each radio station, of the termination of its license by the Federal Communications Commission or other federal authority. Even though the Commission has given every evidence of a high regard for freedom of speech in radio and has avoided giving any evidence of prior restraint—censorship—upon broadcast material, station policies are formulated as though the Commission's definition of "public interest, convenience or necessity" were both narrow and dictatorial. It does seem, however, that "public interest, convenience or necessity" should be better defined by statute so as to assure greater freedom of discussion now and also in case some arbitrary commission in the



future might attempt to throttle radio stations with minority political views.

In consequence of this "license neurosis," station managers have so avoided controversial program materials as to make their offerings politically insipid rather than as challenging as they should be. The question of radio censorship is naturally of the most profound importance, and it involves fundamental constitutional considerations, fundamental problems of practical democratic thinking. Eternal vigilance of radio free speech is just as important as is eternal vigilance of freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, or academic freedom.

Radio channels fall naturally into the public domain. By sheer physical laws, there is a limitation on the number of channels, and the Federal Communications Commission has therefore taken the course of granting on each channel either a national or a limited district monopoly to some private operator, under our system of policed private enterprise. As a result, the public has a natural right to insist on certain minimum standards of decency, of popular representation, of respect for and admission of minority opinions and wishes, and of service, in return for the exclusive grant for commercial uses of a part of the public domain. The public has a right, in short, and sooner or later it will exercise that right, to keep this instrument from becoming still another means through which it is cajoled and coerced into accepting the ideas of dominant individuals and groups without adequate means for reply and discussion.

As a matter of fact, the situation in broadcasting is far from healthy even now. As Bernard B. Smith has observed, in a very interesting study in the *Nation*, "Free-

dom of speech in radio broadcasting, so far as the bulk of the public is concerned, means in effect the right of a station operator to use the people's airwaves to restrain free speech, to channel it, to limit it, to offer it to those who can induce a sponsor to pay for it and to deny it to those who cannot." Smith urges that at least thirty minutes be set aside during the peak evening hours each day for the broadcasting of programs on a sustaining basis, in other words, not paid for by sponsors, as some more adequate return to the people for the use made of their air waves by private advertisers. He notes, realistically, that this will have to be done shortly, before competition forces the costs of radio-station operation to mount to a point where station operators can more plausibly claim that they cannot afford to make such a contribution to public welfare.

Such a program as "The University of Chicago Round Table" is not carried by more than some three-fifths of the stations on its network, because it is a sustaining program; it is also broadcast at a relatively weak hour on Sunday—1:30 P.M. Eastern and 12:30 P.M. Central War Time. If it went on the air between the Jack Benny and the Charlie McCarthy shows, at 7:30–8:00 P.M. Eastern War Time, with full network facilities, it would reach infinitely more people, and its impact upon public discussion would be vastly more beneficial than it now is.

It is not enough for station operators to talk in terms of the percentage of their entire program time that they devote to noncommercial offerings. As their own advertisements substantiate, the peak periods of "listener traffic" are the ones assigned almost exclusively to com-

mercial broadcasts, and the unpopular periods are more readily accessible to public service programs that carry no revenue.

Obviously no one station or network can be expected to take such a step without some assurance that its competitors will also see it as their duty to take similar action. This might be best achieved through a voluntary agreement, perhaps sponsored by the National Association of Broadcasters. The step, if taken, would probably represent a temporary cut in revenue and would call certainly for the development of better techniques with which to help groups to make interesting presentations of their views or instructional materials. But it would immediately improve the attitudes of important groups toward the social role of radio stations as now organized and would be a fine investment for the industry from this standpoint.

Another problem confronting radio stations is the manner in which they at first permitted themselves to acquiesce in daily newspaper domination of the major world-wide news-gathering networks. They have since corrected this situation somewhat, at least in the case of the larger stations and chains, by hiring their own special correspondents, some of whom have done magnificent work. As radio stations continue to grow in stature as news-gathering and news-disseminating agencies, they will make more and more independent contributions to news coverage in the case of matters not enjoying general top billing, events not connected with battles, Washington, conventions, and similar developments to which they now give special attention.

The fact that President Roosevelt, opposed by the overwhelming majority of daily newspapers, had access to the radio has been credited with helping to offset in great measure the ability of the press to distort and confuse what he wished to communicate to the American electorate. One wonders what might have been the situation if William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson had been able to speak directly to the people of our country. Would the famous "Cross of Gold" speech have made the impact upon the electorate that it did upon the Democratic National Convention? Would the plea of Wilson for the League of Nations have been given more power, more insistence, by the awakened enthusiasm of the rank and file in the United States through the equivalent of President Roosevelt's "Fireside Chats"? Be this as it may, granted a reasonably free radio, the implications of these questions bode well for the future.

The potential danger naturally exists and will continue that a President may be elected who is dominated by reactionary owners of radio stations and daily newspapers. In such an eventuality, one shudders to think of the possible jeopardy in which freedom of speech on the air might then be placed. Through the Federal Communications Commission, unless restrained by the United States Supreme Court through applications of the First Amendment not yet enunciated, the dominant political party might be so autocratic as to seize the power of life and death for political ends over radio stations—a policy that the Roosevelt administration has certainly not attempted to follow. Fortunately, the likelihood is that the applications of the First Amendment would halt such a procedure, at least if carried out obviously in such

terms, but it behooves us to build the best procedural and legal defenses we can against such an eventuality as well in advance of a test of strength as possible. Radio-station licenses should be revocable only through specified procedures and for well-defined reasons of public interest.

The influx of radio stations into our national arena of discussion has at least had the merit of once more opening up, to some extent, the relative freedom with which interests might present their opinions and needs to the public. Because of the many more channels it offers, the invention of frequency-modulated broadcasting has possibly opened up the opportunities for competing programs even further. Radio has in this manner, temporarily at least, offset the restrictive tendency, led by weekly and daily newspapers, that has been going on in the media of communication for so many years.

Public opinion polling agencies, coming at roughly the same time in our national development, may be said to have made equally significant contributions to this anti-restrictive and anti-authoritarian process. They have attacked an old stronghold of the propagandists of authoritarianism by offering to furnish for the first time disinterested estimates of popular opinions, based upon actual interviews rather than random observations, with which to replace biased allegations. Through this device we can make our leaders more aware of what it means to represent the bulk of us, we can protect our leaders from being confused by the pressures of special interests, and we can encourage new and more representative leaders to come forth and develop.

The growth of the various polling agencies and the increasing intelligence with which they probe the minds of the American people furnish one of the most constant and effective checks upon special interests in government yet invented. If there were but one polling agency, representing a pressure group, it might become a vicious organ of manipulation; but the presence in the United States today of a variety of such agencies—commercial, governmental, and academic—gives assurance that the composite product is a fairly accurate guide to popular wishes.

Public opinion polls, after periods of academic and commercial experimentation, achieved some prominence at first in two forms. The American Institute of Public Opinion, one form, frequently called the “Gallup poll” for its founder, came into existence as a syndicated feature for daily newspapers, deriving its revenue from fees paid it by the newspapers. A number of other commercial polls took the form of special surveys for special interests—surveys frequently undertaken to *prove* the effectiveness of a public relations program but also sometimes to *learn* the course of group or general opinions. Somewhat later, as a part of necessary wartime planning, the Office of War Information, the United States Department of Agriculture, and certain other federal agencies also found it desirable to experiment with opinion-sampling procedures.

In order to provide a more experimental type of public opinion polling organization, one not engaged in commercial operations, Harry H. Field—not related to me, by the way—sought to establish a nonprofit agency in connection with an educational institution, and the

Field Foundation, which I have established, helped him to do so. This resulted in the formation of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver in 1942. While this organization has undertaken opinion polls for other agencies, it has only done so for governmental and nonprofit institutions, in order to maintain, as nearly as possible, an objective attitude toward American opinions and society.

It is an opinion-finding organization only—for example, confidential and restricted surveys have been made for departments of the government. The staff prepares reports based on its usual interviewing techniques for such organizations as the Physicians Committee on Research, Inc., the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the National Farmers Union; it has also worked with a number of universities on special projects. It sometimes takes its own polls on subjects which have not been investigated by other polls and clarifies, by resurvey, subjects such as group medical care where there is room for further exploration. One of its recent projects was an investigation of the popular conception of the Bill of Rights, which revealed that only 23 per cent of Americans had a reasonably accurate idea of the content of the first ten amendments to the Constitution, that a similar number had never heard of it, and that the remaining 54 per cent either could not identify it or gave confused or entirely incoherent information. In addition, the Center publishes a fortnightly digest of polls and surveys called *Opinion News*. This brings together in convenient form the significant findings of all the leading public opinion research organizations.



The Center has not concerned itself to any extent with the prediction of election returns. This is an area in which fairly accurate work is already being done by the commercial polling agencies and also in which there is the check provided by the actual vote on election day. The Center has attempted rather to gauge opinion on topics not provided with such an immediate check as election contests, to improve and utilize methods by which the opinions, desires, and needs of the people on controversial issues might be ascertained and reported to those concerned with policy formation.

As a general thing, opinion polls merely indicate the beliefs that individuals are able to express without embarrassment or sense of shame to complete strangers. They measure the currency of expressed opinions with little accurate reference as to their intensity and, above all, with no incisive accounting for the ambivalent (contradictory or opposing) sentiments to which they may be related or by which they may be determined. Methods are gradually being refined, it is true, that make possible the weighing of the intensity of opinion, in a rough way, as well as the accounting of how some opinions are related to one another and to an individual's main springs of action; but these methods are still in the laboratory stage and usually cannot be labeled. The Center, as one of several organizations probing further into such matters, is attempting not only to report opinion but also to get closer to an explanation of opinion, to go deeper into what people think and feel about controversial matters.

Ordinary polls have gained their reputation for accuracy chiefly from two kinds of tests: (1) in the political



field, the prediction of an election outcome, and (2), in the business field, the selection of the advertisement or product package of several that is likely to be most successful. There is a relatively close similarity, where deep-set ideological issues and social struggles are not involved, between answering a question and pulling a voting-machine lever. There is also a relatively close similarity between saying that you regard an advertisement or carton to be an effective one and being attracted to such an advertisement in a periodical or such a carton in a store and thus being sold the product in question. It is a much longer step between expressing a tolerant and understanding opinion of another's religious beliefs or race, however, and being actually—in action as well as in words—decent and considerate toward them.

Since polls have successfully predicted elections and the commercial value of advertisements and cartons, should those demonstrations of predictability also sanction estimates of probable behavior in fields somewhat more remote from a question-and-answer exercise? We all know something of the ability of the human mind to rationalize, to make itself look socially respectable. This is one of the disturbing questions that the National Opinion Research Center is facing and upon which it is gradually shedding some light.

The Center is especially interesting as a device for making opinion studies of social or sociological significance that are not of commercial importance. Some of these are likely to be so experimental in character that they may not even be worth publication for any purpose.

Opinion is usually a "surface" reaction, and, as I have

suggested, to understand the reports of public opinion polling agencies requires far more than the blind acceptance of a percentage answer to a question. It is in this that one of the great dangers of the current misuse of poll results lies, because polls have given rise to the "opinion-poll politician," who bows blindly to poll results without understanding adequately their implications.

Polls report a current situation. They indicate to the wise politician how much and what kind of interpreting he has to do to his constituency in order to make a wise course plausible. In other words, the wise politician discovers how people will react to certain questions in order to anticipate their resistances, their lack of enlightened self-interest. The opinion-poll politician, the one who merely "votes the poll," shortly finds—if he is curious and intelligent enough to learn—that the answers to pat, simple questions do not reveal the essential and deep tides of popular desire and hope and resentment. That a large percentage may give a prejudiced answer to a question bearing upon Negro or other minority rights is no indication that a specific anti-Negro measure will meet with public favor, particularly when the proposal has been adequately interpreted to a politician's public. To illustrate: a person who claims he will not eat with a colored person may be outraged at the erection of political and economic obstacles to the colored person's exercising of full citizenship rights.

Some say that polls emphasize "the public" as the most legitimate single pressure group. For the purposes of clarity and completeness of concept, I should like to restate and amplify this. The public as a whole seldom

has the characteristics that one associates with a pressure group, such characteristics as recognized leadership, a cohesiveness based upon acceptance of a limited group of goals and of means of attaining those goals, and a drive to achieve those goals within a foreseeable future. A better way of viewing polls than as a means of making the public "the most legitimate single pressure group" would be to say realistically that the polls furnish an estimate of the actual support of pressure groups in terms both of actual members and of conscious and unconscious "fellow-travelers." Society, after all, in any dynamic sense, is best viewed as made up of many rather coherent groups, of which any given individual is probably a member of many, each group membership corresponding in an organizational way to some phase of the individual's interests and personality.

To sum up, opinion polls are useful as a way of separating the consideration of political candidates and of issues, of marking out the situation with which a public leader is faced in any given area, and of assessing the actual strength of alleged spokesmen for pressure groups. But public opinion changes in a startling variety of ways, sometimes rapidly, sometimes very slowly, sometimes in what appears to be a complete reversal of itself. The more we come to know about the dynamics of this highly important situation and process, the more nearly those who lead our society will be able to follow wise and constructive courses. But, above all, we must beware of leaders whose minds are mere syntheses of polls rather than intelligent instruments for knowing and understanding the significance of polls.

IV

*A Faith in Human Possibilities*



## A PEOPLES' PEACE

**T**HE necessities which a nation faces in time of war are by their very nature a complete negation of all that is desirable for the purpose of creating an atmosphere in which the freedom for human development we have been discussing can flourish. In order to retain their freedom, it is, of course, necessary that free men wage war to the best of their ability when attacked by an aggressor who would dominate them and attempt to enslave them. Often it is even necessary to attack the aggressor in the first instance so as to prevent his gaining an undue advantage by assuming the initiative himself. But, to wage war successfully, men must completely subordinate themselves, their abilities, and the expression of their opinions to the common objective. Opinions that would weaken or subvert the objective are suppressed, and creative abilities are channelized into efforts which are the opposite of constructive and to which their possessors are often ill suited.

There lies considerable danger in the fact that people

may become accustomed to this and may also place power in the hands of individuals who will be extremely reluctant to relinquish it. For this reason, above all others, free men will make every effort to devise realistic ways of avoiding future wars and will be ready to suppress aggressors the moment signs of aggression become visible. Loss of life, disruption of families, and destruction of property are additional but perhaps subsidiary reasons for avoiding wars.

Of course, wars in themselves never satisfactorily settle anything, and the only possible justification for waging one is to remain free or, rather, to create conditions under which freedom will be more easily attainable. It has rarely been the case, historically, that victors have shown dispassionate judgment in settling matters equitably either for themselves or for humanity. Great forbearance, courage, and imagination will be needed at the end of the present war if past mistakes are not to be repeated.

I sometimes wonder how many people realize to what an extent not only war itself but fear of possible war and aggression have restricted freedom and the functioning of the real desires of mankind. It is trite to refer to the wastes caused by armaments and tariff barriers, the treasure of energy poured into modern armaments that might otherwise have been devoted to better living and to attainment of freedom from want, the artificial impediments of tariff that have invisible costs outrunning any possible visible benefits. Against such wastes might be opposed the great strides made during wars by new technical inventions which are often applicable to peacetime pursuits. But in all this what is most often

lost sight of is the manner in which ruling persons or cliques have stimulated aggression in their people, agitated them to the point of attacking other peoples, with the practically avowed purpose of perpetuating themselves in power.

Outside aggression is the ace up the sleeve of almost every tyrant throughout history. It is highly questionable whether a truly democratic nation, where real freedom of action and expression flourishes, where people are not subjected to a barrage of one-sided propaganda, would ever fight a war of aggression. I doubt it. Time and the survival of real democracy only can demonstrate the truth of this assertion. It is certainly not true that pressure of population has caused really popular wars. It is well known, for instance, that fewer Japanese migrated to Korea after that nation was conquered than Koreans went to Japan.

Obviously it is impossible to destroy capital, as represented by those goods which increase human well-being, at the rate it is destroyed in any modern war and expect an immediately improved standard of living afterward. And it is necessary to add to this loss the loss of creative talent and energy which might have been used to increase humanity's goods and which had to be diverted to purely destructive purposes. But if we of the United Nations have the fortitude completely to crush the aggressor nations with whom we fight in this war to preserve the freedom in which we believe, there will be factors in the resulting situation that will present an opportunity for future development and co-operation such as have never before existed.

In the first place, the productivity of the world has



been hampered to such an extent by the very fear of war, by tariffs, and by a misunderstanding of the role of consumption in the world's economy that goods have not been produced at anything like a capacity rate. The war itself has shown us what can be done in the way of production for war. That demonstration must leave an indelible impression that will render impossible any artificial restrictions of production to satisfy the profit motive. Possibilities for storage and preservation of consumption goods have been improved to a point never attained before. Air transport and radio communication have brought the peoples of the world into a relative proximity that offers possibilities of co-operation and interchange of methods and ideas hitherto impossible. If the present bankers are found unable to devise methods by which peoples who want and are willing to work can use their capabilities for productive ends, other bankers, or banking arrangements, will have to be discovered who can organize more serviceable credit practices.

After the present war, the pent-up desires for decent houses, faster and safer means of transportation, better nutrition, and fuller recreation throughout the world will be enormous. It will take faith in the future, and courage, to extend the credit and the tools and the know-how that we have acquired, to make it possible for peoples ravaged by war to contribute to the world's goods. The risk will probably be too great for private capital to expose itself to, and it will probably be necessary to extend credit through our government, or preferably through the combined resources of the United Nations. Let us hope that we shall be able to do this

without trying to impose our own ideas of what may be good for other peoples and thereby hamstringing their development.

One of the factors that stands out in the history of the years between 1918 and the German attack on Poland in 1939 is the inability that we showed to divorce our economic thinking and political thinking in international affairs. Both the nations of Europe and ourselves failed time after time in the struggle toward keeping the peace because of our distrust of the Soviet Union, of our fear of communism. This fear so dominated us that it became impossible to co-operate with Russia to stop German or Italian aggression. We were unable to bring ourselves to defend the people's government in Spain when Germany and Italy actively helped the Fascist group that usurped the power in that country.

We cannot dominate the internal affairs of all the other countries of the world with whom we will want to co-operate for world peace and for world productivity and trade. Peoples will have to be allowed to develop in their own ways, provided only that they do not take steps toward aggression. We should be in a position to recognize such steps in time. It must be said that, for reasons already discussed, they will be far more likely to emanate from Fascist or other forms of tyrannical government.

If political systems succeed in different forms in different places, so much the better for them; and if they succeed well enough, others will want to emulate them. But we do not need to make the mistake made in the last war, that of giving aid and comfort to reactionary governments in the way of private financial loans. The

American people have traditionally been on the side of those struggling for their freedom—and will be again, if given the true facts.

Never again must we lie easily under the cloak of “neutrality” when aggressors are on the prowl, beginning their march against free and peaceful peoples who may be less powerful. A peoples’ peace cannot long remain a peoples’ peace if free peoples are unwilling to preserve the freedom of others and so preserve their own freedom. Never again must we ask, “For whom does the bell toll?” When freedom is threatened, it always tolls for us all.

Actually, I am entirely convinced that communism is an ideology or a proposed social system that will never suit the genius of the American people, nor do I believe that it has succeeded as originally conceived in the Soviet Union. The Russian people appear to be passing through a period of transition and adaptation which may end in some form of political and economic organization as yet entirely unforeseen. They have had the good sense to foreswear any attempt to impose their ideology aggressively on other countries, and I only pray that the fear of their ideology may not continue to dominate interests in this country to such an extent that we shall be led into some of the same mistakes we made before. It must be admitted that for some time the reporting by our newspapers of events and developments in the Soviet Union was far from factual or understanding. It was most always permeated with the antagonism or anxiety of the observers or of the employers of the observers.

Not only is international co-operation an absolute necessity if freedom is to flourish after the war, but the

ways in which it can be beneficial are unlimited. There are, for example, the controls and laws pertaining to the use of airways, the financing of goods in trade, and the growth and distribution of food. So often in the past we have seen a plethora of goods and food in one part of the world and starvation in another part. Nature seldom distributes her bounties with an even hand. Surely the combined ingenuity of human brains can solve this question of distribution once fear of war is removed.

The form of world organization to be set up has been discussed by experts and will continue to be discussed by them. I suspect that any form will be subject to change and amendment, and it should be if it is to endure. The important thing is to make a start as soon as possible. The historical development of our own Constitution has certainly shown the way. Under any such organizational structure, too, I believe that a body of law and of customary international behavior would grow up in a fairly short space of time perfectly acceptable to any nation that did not have larceny in its heart. Force would obviously have to be used to restrain such a nation, just as it is used by a democracy to restrain lawless individuals.

Trusteeships for backward peoples might be set up through which their development toward self-control could well be supervised. It is difficult for colonial administrators to encourage the best possible education and development of the peoples for whom they are responsible. They, the administrators, are generally members of a cultural and racial minority and are likely to be dominated by the fear of being overthrown as soon as their subject peoples reach a forward stage of development, an eventuality they should look forward to as one

of achievement, as the United States has in the Philippines.

An international labor office is already in existence and, with proper backing, will agree on the achievement of minimum standards for labor. This would go far to relieve fears inherent in international trade—fears that one group might take advantage of another by accepting lower standards and so degrade the standards of all. As a matter of fact, the notion that reduction in wages necessarily results in lower costs, and therefore an advantage in competition, is a fallacy which has been rife far too long and which has been appallingly harmful. Reductions in wages in any country result in reductions of the consumption in the country's home market and makes for a loss in the country's rate of production.

Production increases, not wage reductions, have time and again been found to be the greatest reducers of costs. If nations go into a trade war after the cessation of military hostilities, with the trade war based on this fallacious theory of competitive advantage through wage reductions, widespread unemployment will be the inevitable result; and no one will benefit except a few exporters who will benefit for only a very short period and will then become engulfed in the ensuing depression.

I believe and hope, as so many believe and hope, that these forward strides are perfectly possible. That we have failed before is no criterion for the future. But we shall have to combat common human tendencies, typical of all aftermaths of war, to become extremely cautious, to search for the maximum immediate security, and to avoid all progressive experimentation. These tendencies are so natural, and their causes so obvious, that they

must be clearly understood and recognized. Otherwise a fatal period of reaction may not be avoided, and we might thus be led unwittingly to betray all that men have been dying for and to desecrate their memory.

The outlines of the world to come are well indicated, if we can only carry them out. They are suggested by President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" and by Henry Wallace's "Century of the Common Man." But above even such broad outlines must be the general attitude of the representatives in a world organization. If they are actually representative of the peoples of their lands, freely selected by freely chosen executives, if they function in the manner President Wilson attempted a generation ago, actually drafting "open covenants, openly arrived at," a tremendous stride toward a long period of peace—a peoples' peace—will have been made.

## THE MARCH FORWARD

**P**ROGRESS toward the attainment of a better life has, throughout history, been slow, halting, and uncertain. Periodic crises take from us the freedom—especially the freedom of expression—that we need to create better ways of living. And we have had to fight for freedom so long, on so many fronts, and so often, that we sometimes permit ourselves to forget and to be confused by clever propagandists in the objectives we seek. As Henri Bergson notes: “Evolution does not mark out a solitary route, . . . it takes direction without aiming at ends, and . . . it remains inventive, even in its adaptations.” In other words, “we shall not witness the detailed accomplishment of a plan. Nature is more and better than a plan in course of realization. . . . Before the evolution of life, . . . the portals of the future remain wide open.”

As far as I know, there is no final goal that any human mind is capable of envisaging, but I have a firm faith that we human beings given maximum freedom and opportunity to develop, eventually will reach out toward

patterns of existence far more satisfactory than any yet attained. The spirit of man will not become satisfied so long as there exists any fellow-being in want, any disease uncured, any injustice unquestioned, or any pool of darkness unlit by the lamp of knowledge.

People tend to divide themselves into two groups. There are those who have, on the whole, a fundamental distrust of their fellow human beings, especially in the aggregate, and there are those who place a great deal of faith in the inherent decency of mankind and in the wisdom of their decisions.

People who are distrustful of their fellow-humans fear the outcome of collective judgments and attempt to impose their own will upon the public by parliamentary devices, by suppression of opinions, or even by main force, if they can organize enough armed strength to get away with it. These people capitalize especially upon the fear of want inherent in all of us, and they hold out inducements in the form of money or its equivalent in order to coerce people to their point of view. As has been frequently observed, a tragic number of men are bribed by their pay checks. I have even heard of employers who attempted to influence the votes of their employees directly—even at the polling booths. They seem to hold the view expressed by former President Hoover when he said: "The mass of people is never constructive, and often it is destructive. . . . The crowd only feels: it has no mind of its own which can plan. The crowd is credulous, it destroys, it consumes, it hates, and it dreams—but it never builds."

The aggression which is born in all of us is in these distrustful people channelized into a drive to master



others. In its extreme forms it crystallizes into the institution of slavery and the formation of cartels, into strikebreaking and imperialistic wars. It is apparently only when they feel power over others, feel that they can shove others around, that their anxieties and insecurities are allayed.

It is this group that we will need to combat vigorously at all times. Because of their very character, they will gather much of the economic and social power of any society. They pay skilled propagandists, who deceive the people with their catchwords. Free enterprise—something we all desire—is warped to throw off the legitimate rules that society has set up for its protection. Vague fears of national bankruptcy are instilled to prevent the use of the common funds for purposes desirable to all. Fear of foreign competition, built upon old nativist prejudice and never upon facts, is stimulated to further the raising of protective tariffs for special interests who still hope to profit thereby.

It is the control of the daily press, magazines, radio, and other means of communication by these distrustful people that must be guarded against especially and at all costs. In fact, it is nothing short of miraculous to me that the people of this country have always, in the long run, made up their minds on major issues in their own best interests so well and that the country has been able to develop and expand as well as it has, in spite of all the misinformation that its citizens have received. I am also convinced that if the issues are put squarely before them, if all opinions are allowed to flourish and find expression, the development of the

United States and of the world will be accelerated immeasurably.

Opposing those who agree with Hoover stand those who agree with Lincoln, when he said, "What I want is to get done what the people desire to have done, and the question for me is how to find that out exactly."

Expressed in other terms, there are those who attack representatives of the people in Congress on the grounds that they are panderers to the "whims" of the voters and that they lack something called, in awed tones, "statesmanship." These are people distrustful of government by representatives of popular interests, of anything, for that matter, but their own interests; and by "statesmanship" they mean an acceptance of the views and objectives of their own special point of view. Real statesmanship, of course, is something else; it is the formulation of wise decisions based upon a knowledge of life-conditions, and of popular needs and interests, and then the convincing of the representative's constituency and of those in government who will help to put such decisions into effect.

Those who agree with Lincoln realize that the only sensible course, the only honorable course, for a politician or any other leader is to learn popular interests, needs, and demands through talking personally with samples of the people, through studying accurate public opinion polls, and through surveying the needs of his constituency at first hand. And when the facts are before him, the politician in the Lincoln tradition will not just "vote the poll." He will know too much about popular opinions, sentiments, and needs to do anything so simple as that. On the contrary, he will know that a poll merely

helps to "cut out his job for him." As a result of his studies, he will need to work out proposals or will adopt proposals that will best serve the greatest good of the greatest number, and he will then know how to interpret those proposals to his constituency so that they will appear sensible to the electorate, or, if need be, he will set himself to educate his followers on points on which they have been misinformed so that they will not be further misled. Those other leaders in society who are constructive and have a faith in human decency and human capacity for improvement will support such a politician to the end.

"The greatest good of the greatest number" is not something that any one man or any group of men can possibly envisage or claim to know. The greatest good can only be arrived at by discussion, conflict of opinion, and group decision. It cannot be planned, nor can it be imposed from above. Anyone who labors under the delusion that it can is either a prospective tyrant or is in danger of throwing away his freedom to a demagogue. Discipline, yes—the survival of democracy depends on discipline. But it must be a self-discipline imposed by ourselves and for objectives we mutually decide upon. It must never be a discipline imposed from above by any person or group.

In this contrast of types, Americans have a great advantage. As a recent foreign observer has noted, the United States is fundamentally an idealistic nation. It struggles to progress, from error to error, toward what many of its people take to be the right goals. Tomorrow America will be, if freedom of communication is strengthened and broadened, the world's greatest force

in the service of justice. It was only because, between 1920 and 1940, Americans were misinformed that they fell into the errors that helped to bring on the second World War. Against the continuance of such misinformation, we must be eternally vigilant.

If the reader of this book has received the impression that I have any idea that all men are actually or potentially angels, then I have utterly failed to make my position clear. If a visitor from Mars, however, were to visit the earth suddenly and to try to form an opinion of the American people by a reading of almost any daily newspaper, he would certainly get a strange idea of them. Earthlings would appear to be murderers, sex fiends, venal politicians, and heroes. The women would be either in tears with all their clothes on or very beautiful with very little clothes. But of the millions of Americans who risk their lives without notice, who support their families and go about their jobs daily, efficiently and without question, who love to play badly but in a spirit of sportsmanship, who toil for hours daily to make the earth fruitful, he would know little or nothing without further investigation. It is in the creativeness and good sense of such people that we must have faith.

They are far from angels, but there is no denying that these unheralded individuals *can* do anything they set out to do. The whole history of our country is a testimony of this fact. But what we have accomplished has been accomplished only by blood and sweat, by the utmost efforts of men and women who believed in their dreams and who got out and fought for them, figuratively and literally. That is why we must all join together

to promote freedom *actively*—by becoming tough enough to move in a new direction when old methods fail, by giving all our countrymen the rights we ourselves want to possess, by preparing our children to be able to think for themselves, by supporting freer access to facts in every field both new and old, and by working for a peace that will give all nations the chance of eventually joining in a free world community.

It is a tremendous task that lies ahead of us, and it must not be minimized by any desire on our part to have an immediate or material advantage. Only in the faith of Jefferson and Lincoln can we find the spiritual drive that will keep America and the world on their course toward greater opportunities for greater numbers of people, greater free enterprise in the real sense of that expression.

Freedom is more than a word. Freedom is action, for the foes of freedom never hesitate to take action when they, in their toughness, think that free men are weak. The days ahead will always be filled with peril for freedom, but we can keep freedom if we want it and are vigilant for it. “We, the people” must be a living force, not just a phrase to beguile us at political rallies. Man has little stature set against a Norris Dam or measured against a Flying Fortress, and he will indeed be a small thing unless he decides that his spirit can master the engines of his creation so that his State will be a living force concerned with the freedom of every individual.

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